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TIME

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20 PLEASURE ISLAND

19 HOLLYWOOD'S PRETTY WOMAN

18 TEENAGE MUTANT NINJA TURTLES

17 MINNIE MOO

"Sorcery
in The Sky"
FIREWORKS
FANTASY!

♥ NUMBER ♥

6

One of 20 Spectacular New

16 PORT ORLEANS RESORT 15 GOLF COURSES 14 DIXIE LANDINGS RESORT 13 SPECTRO

4 AND THE BEAST 5 THE NEW MICKEY MOUSE CLUB 6 SORCERY IN THE SKY FIREWORKS FANTASY

7 DISNEY VACATION CLUB

8 JIM HENSON'S MUPPET*VISION 3-D

9 SCI-FI DRIVE-IN DINER

10 THE LITTLE MERMAID



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20 THE VILLAGE RESORTS

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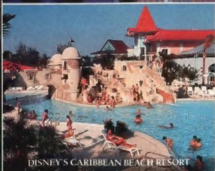
6 DISNEY VACATION VILLAS

7 PORT ORLEANS RESORT

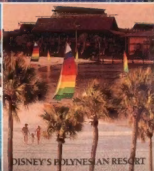
8 DISNEY VILLAGE SUITES

9 YACHT CLUB RESORT

10 DISNEY FAIRWAY VILLAS



DISNEY'S CARIBBEAN BEACH RESORT



DISNEY'S POLYNESIAN RESORT



DISNEY'S CONTEMPORARY RESORT

14 FORT WILDERNESS WOODED HOMES 13 CARIBBEAN BEACH RESORT 12 BEACH CLUB RESORT 11 DIXIE LANDINGS RESORT

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TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

COVER STORY

34 NATION:

Open Up in There

Aided by technology, the old impulse to pry is putting privacy at risk

54 WORLD:

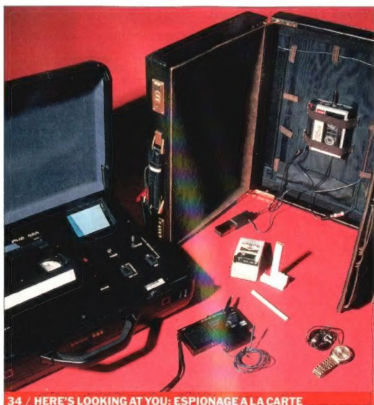
Together at Last

Arabs and Israelis finally sit around a table in Madrid, but so far the conference is a p.r. duel

74 SCIENCE:

Parallel Power

How linking computers will speed up—and revolutionize—research



34 / HERE'S LOOKING AT YOU: ESPIONAGE A LA CARTE

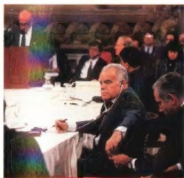
INTERVIEW Educator Thomas Sobol on the merits of multiculturalism	20
AMERICAN SCENE The women of Four Corners build a future	28
BUSINESS For big-name clothing designers, cheap chic is in	68
SPACE Magellan unveils the volcanic fury of Venus	78
EDUCATION A case that could decide the fate of black public colleges	81
PROFILE How Martin Scorsese moved from Little Italy to <i>Cape Fear</i>	84
TELEVISION The networks' latest hot formula: women as victims	88
BOOKS <i>Dreadnought's</i> arms race would make the superpowers quiver	90
LIVING Who is Carmen Sandiego, and why do kids love her?	94
TECHNOLOGY Car need a tune-up? Call a hot-rod hacker	96
MUSIC Public Enemy is the sound of the present, and the present is tense	98
MILESTONES The theater mourns Joseph Papp, a populist impresario	99
THEATER The Brits show the Yanks how to appreciate Arthur Miller	100
ESSAY Richard Brookhiser on why the Romanovs should be restored	102

DEPARTMENTS

LETTERS	8	GRAPEVINE	33
CRITICS' VOICES	26	PEOPLE	79

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54 / WHO'S TALKING NOW!



74 / TINY BUT SUPER

FROM THE PUBLISHER

For parts of this week's cover story on privacy, associate editor Richard Lacayo had to look at companies that collect and sell information on the bill-paying history of almost every adult American. Last year Richard sent off for a copy of his own credit report. What would that personal experience tell us about the story he was investigating, we wondered.

Lacayo wanted to see a copy of his credit report because he had applied for a mortgage and knew that his bank would be seeking the same information. He sent his request to TRW, one of the companies that compile credit histories, along with a \$16 fee. While waiting for the copy, Richard, who strikes most of us as about as likely to get into credit trouble as he is to sprout wings and soar from his 23rd-floor-office window, combed through his memory for any instances of financial delinquency. "I once borrowed \$25 from a friend in high school," he recalls. "But I was pretty sure I had paid it back before too long."

Most of you are probably familiar with accounts of credit histories that come riddled with errors. When Richard's arrived, his



Having learned about privacy intrusions, Lacayo takes shelter

"It's hard not to feel a bit more vulnerable to intrusions I was just dimly aware of before."

the determinedly unparanoid writer. "But I've resisted the temptation to withdraw behind closed doors." It helps, of course, that there was no problem with his mortgage.

Richard P. Hall

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• Rocking — Roger Whittaker • Jingle Bell Rock — Bobby Helms • What Child Is This? — André Previn • Christmas in Dixie — Alabama • Rockin' around the Christmas Tree — Brenda Lee • I'll Be Home for Christmas — Perry Como • Ding Dong Merrily on High — Roger Whittaker • Medley: Carol of the Bells/Deck the Halls with Boughs of Holly — Robert Shaw Chorale • It's Beginning to Look Like Christmas — Perry Como and the Fontane Sisters • Medley: Winter Wonderland/Sleigh Ride — Dolly Parton • Have Yourself a Merry Little Christmas — Judy Garland • Santa Claus Is Coming to Town — Perry Como • The Twelve Days of Christmas — Roger Whittaker • O Little Town of Bethlehem — André Previn • Medley: Here We Come A-Caroling/O Tannenbaum/I Saw Three Ships — Arthur Fiedler and the Boston Pops • Home for the Holidays — Perry Como • And 11 more!



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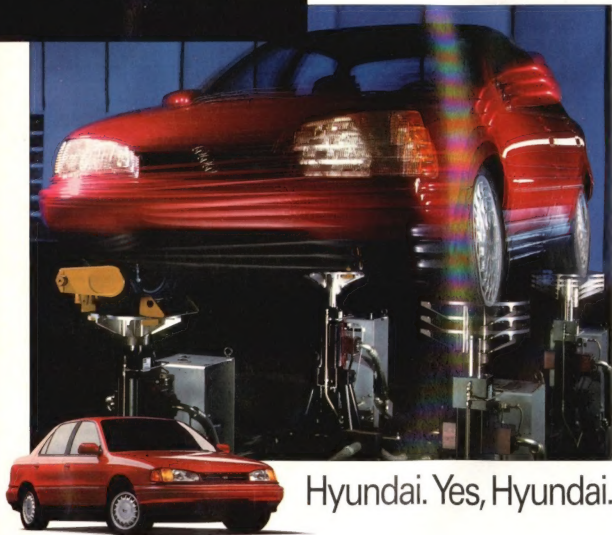
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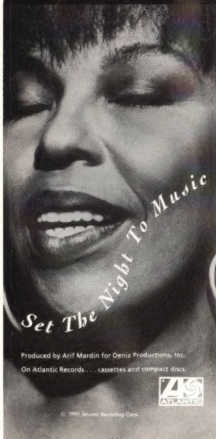


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LETTERS

SEX, LIES & POLITICS

"The black Americans who appeared before the committee displayed more dignity and self-respect than did most of the U.S. Senators."

Jacqueline Cruz
Scotia, N.Y.



Neither Judge Clarence Thomas nor Professor Anita Hill placed sexual harassment on the agenda [NATION, Oct. 21]. The Senate Judiciary Committee did that through its mishandling of its investigation, during which it failed to ask in-depth questions. To cover its incompetence, it offered up two scapegoats. A national debate on sexual harassment was long overdue. Perhaps this is the only positive result of the Thomas confirmation process.

Susan Olson
Wilton Manors, Fla.

The Thomas hearings weren't a total waste. In addition to having a heightened awareness of sexual harassment, some American citizens can now name more than two U.S. Senators.

Josh McElroy
Libertyville, Ill.

"Good name in man and woman . . . is the immediate jewel of their souls." It is ironic that Senator Alan Simpson repeated words from Shakespeare's *Othello* that were uttered by the villainous Iago, whose machinations caused the destruction of a virtuous woman.

Mark B. Harmon
Alexandria, Va.

The sheer hypocrisy of the Senate hearings appalled me. The sight of some Senators whose own pasts could not bear close scrutiny looking suitably shocked at the revelations was something to savor.

Bruce M. Wood
Naarden, the Netherlands

This spectacle made two things clear. First, terms of all legislators (and perhaps Justices) should be limited. Second, if congressional proceedings absolutely must be televised, they should run on Saturday mornings with the rest of the cartoons.

Michael F. Richards
Fleetwood, Pa.

How can a country sink so low? The U.S. is the nation of freedom and democracy. Does freedom mean the right to shatter reputations? Does democracy mean the right to violate people's privacy by telling an audience of millions the most lurid details? This sexual-harassment affair (which seems quite ludicrous to us Latin-European women used to our male colleagues' bawdiness) has brought a truth to light: the bigoted, self-righteous Puritan of Colonial times is part and parcel of today's America.

Josiane Voinis
Pau, France

The Office Arena

Fourteen years ago in Montreal, I was given 10 minutes to decide whether I wanted to be the company president's mistress or lose my job as his assistant [NATION, Oct. 21]. I told him 10 minutes was too long to think about it. I took my bag and left immediately, not even worrying about my badly needed paycheck.

Name Withheld
France

Fredric Hayward, executive director of Men's Rights Inc., says for every executive who chases someone around a desk, there is a secretary who dreams of marrying a boss so that she won't have to be a secretary any longer. Spare me! That is the sort of thinking that lets sexual harassment flourish in the office. Hayward's message is: secretaries are bimbos and shameless users. As a secretary, I have at times struggled to make ends meet, but I would no more marry to be "rescued" than I would beg to have my fingernails ripped out.

Christina M. Markjohn
Mentor, Ohio

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LETTERS

At almost every woman's desk in the office where I work—and it's composed largely of women—are printed posters with such sayings as GROW YOUR OWN DOPE—PLANT A MAN AND OF COURSE, I'M NOT AS BUSY AS THE MEN—I DID IT RIGHT THE FIRST TIME. It is not unusual for the women to make comments about men's hair loss or to whisper and point at a man when he walks by. Sexual harassment is as wrong for women to practice as for men.

*John R. Burns
Tigard, Ore.*

For every man guilty of harassing a woman in the office, there are 10 men who have mentored, coached, taught and otherwise assisted women pursuing careers. From now on, every one of those men will think twice before sitting a woman employee down, closing the door and speaking privately with her about her performance. That is the other tragedy here.

*Alfred J. Conon Jr., Publisher
Business Digest
Warecester, Mass.*

I am a European woman. Americans try to legislate human nature. They are puritanical to a degree that makes them lose their sense of humor. The Thomas-Hill debate may help sensitize men in the workplace, but it could widen the gulf between

the sexes. Women are equal to men now, I believe. They have powerful jobs, and while they might not grab a man by his crotch, they have the capacity to castrate him. In my career, I have employed a number of men, and most of the time I hired the ones I found most attractive. Discrimination? Well, maybe so, but Europeans happen to think there is nothing as fascinating as a spark between the sexes.

*Daisy de Bellefeuille
Montreal*

I'd like to say a good word for every secretary, cocktail waitress and bookkeeper who has told some abusive scumbag to "take this job and shove it." And for every woman who has taken on the difficult task of carefully documenting sexual abuse and nailing the creep who abused her. They are the honorable models I'd like my daughter to emulate.

*Jovy Tranchina
San Mateo, Calif.*

Pay for Senate Staffers

Your story about the Senate, "The Ultimate Men's Club" [NATION, Oct. 21], says a study of ours showed that among Senate administrative assistants (A.A.s), the top staff position, women earned only 78% as much as their male peers. That is

incorrect. We found that equally qualified male and female A.A.s earned equivalent salaries, although the average pay of all female Senate staffers was only 78% of that of male staffers.

*Rick Shapiro
Congressional Management Foundation
Washington*

Reviving Eden

The opening of the article on efforts to rebuild damaged ecosystems [ENVIRONMENT, Oct. 14] states that the oceans of grass that graced the North American plains are gone. However, corn, wheat and other cereal grains and extensive cultivated grass pastures now cover the plains. More useful grasses have been substituted for what the nostalgic would have us believe was paradise. I would not want to exchange today's indispensable yet beautiful cultivated crops for prairie grasses.

*Robert I. Braven
Ayr, Canada*

Thoughtful efforts to repair the environment deserve our admiration, support and energy. But to continue misusing our surroundings in the belief that true restoration is possible would be unfortunate.

*George Emmert
Huntington, Ind.*



INTRODUCING EXPO AND EXPO LRV

Bad Schools for the Poor?

I applaud your coverage of Jonathan Kozol's book *Savage Inequalities* [EDUCATION, Oct. 14]. Unequal funding for public education is creating segregation. '90s style. This modern-day American tragedy must be fully understood by all in our nation. There are some critical factors: the effects of inadequate and inequitable school funding reach well beyond the urban schools into rural districts and affect students of all races and ethnic origins. Despite claims to the contrary, funding disparities and the lack of resources have a direct impact in the classroom. In Chicago, for example, students are more likely to use outdated textbooks, have fewer supplies and have limited course offerings than their suburban counterparts.

*James W. Compton, President and CEO
Chicago Urban League
Chicago*

The picture of a student with her teacher at a battered and graffiti-covered desk in an inner-city high school is worth more than a thousand words. Before taxpayers take responsibility for every facet of education, students themselves must do so. Repairing the type of vandalism illustrated in your photo only decreases the amount of money available for important educational

LETTERS

supplies. As a former parochial-school teacher, I worked with textbooks that were passed down from class to class for eight to 10 years. By the end of that time, all were in good condition, and only a few had been lost. We didn't have many extras, but most of our students went on to college and became productive members of society. Success is not based on something tangible like money but rather on intangibles like self-esteem and the will to learn.

*Bonnie H. Reilly
Longwood, Fla.*

The inequities Kozol describes must be addressed, but his cure, a fairly distributed progressive income tax, may be just as bad as the disease. Recessions that won't go away can cause wide fluctuations in income-tax collections and the loss of millions of dollars in revenue. This is currently happening in Alabama. Kozol's prescription would replace inequitable, stable revenues with equitable but unstable sources. Neither is the solution to this dilemma.

*John R. Riley
Birmingham*

Operation Rescue

As a pro-choice Christian, mother and wife, I was sickened by the words of anti-abortion activist Randall Terry [INTER-

VIEW, Oct. 21]. How can this man claim to be a Christian while disregarding the suffering of women and their unwanted children? This man breaks the law, deliberately misleads women seeking abortion counseling, and still claims to be the "savior" of our culture. Terry is wrong when he says most families don't need two incomes. We could live in a one-room apartment with one income, but we want more out of life for our daughter. If that means using contraception to limit the number of children we have, then that's what we'll do.

*Julie Fox
Minneapolis*

It took great courage for Terry to express his views on abortion, unpopular as they are. I believe that people have the right to make a choice, but they should make it before engaging in sex without the use of contraception.

*Nancy Corcoran
Costa Mesa, Calif.*

Terry's opinions on rape and incestuous pregnancies cannot be credited. An abortion may not undo rape or incest, but it will certainly save the victim nine long months of experiencing directly one of the crime's terrible consequences.

*Danielle Novak
Roslyn, Pa.*



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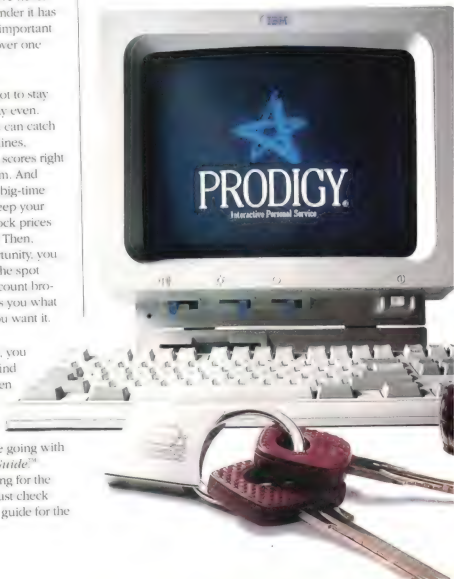
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If Terry is truly concerned about the "moral pollution" in this country, why doesn't his group blockade crack houses and drug dens in the inner city? Why don't the members step forward and adopt the thousands of unwanted babies who will end up being abused and neglected? Why are the rights of the unborn more important than the rights of the born?

Virginia L. Wolfe
Hickley, N.Y.

It is appropriate that your photo of Terry placed him in a setting reminiscent of a back-alley doorway. He and his followers need to realize that driving women who seek safe, legal abortions from clinic front doors may only force them into the shadows, where the real butchery takes place.

Janice Holzmüller
Evanston, Ill.

The New Republic's Outlook

Your account of the supposed liberal-to-conservative editorial shift at the *New Republic* [Press, Oct. 14] was unfair both to that worthy publication and to the concept of liberalism. Yes, *TNR* has drifted from the orthodox party line on certain (once-upon-a-time) hot-button issues like *contra* aid. But liberalism in the true sense is not a set of knee-jerk policy preferences. It is an outlook, an attitude of open-mindedness with a healthy dash of skepticism toward conventional wisdom. Real liberals remain open to the possibility that on any particular issue, the conservatives—even Ronald Reagan—may be right.

Joseph W. Poeschner
Houston

I was surprised to see you call the *New Republic* a black for the "often unprincipled but always practical" Bush Administration. Over the past six months, we've run more than 20 articles on the Administration, only one of which could be described as vaguely positive and 14 of which were unmistakably hostile. We may have better sources than *TIME*, but we've never let that interfere with our opinionizing.

Martin Peretz, Editor in Chief
The New Republic
Washington

White-Hot Metallic Music

Although it was nice to see your article on the popularity of heavy-metal rock music [Music, Oct. 14], it would have been refreshing if it had been done on a more objective level. It is offensive to fans like myself who are not "leather-clad lowlives with tattooed biceps and lobotomized brains." In contrast to your characterization of the typical fan, I am a college-educated professional. While this genre of music may be gaining national recognition, it has had a large and varied audience since

the early '70s. Today's popularity only proves that the music has a unique ability to last for decades.

Philip Talamo
New York City

First you did pages on Guns N' Roses [Music, Sept. 30], and now a foray into the wonders of heavy metal and how long haired rebels "have renounced their raunchy roots and polished their music." Does *TIME* feel some obligation to propagate or justify this junk?

Tom Steiner
Pittsburgh

Swarthmore's Policy

As the head of the student body at Swarthmore College, I wish to correct Margaret Carlson's statement on Swarthmore's sexual-harassment and -assault policy [INTERVIEW, Oct. 14]. Carlson said Swarthmore equates acquaintance rape with "inappropriate innuendo." This statement appeared in a 1985 student-written pamphlet designed to generate discussion in workshops on date rape. This pamphlet is no longer in use, and to focus on this outdated quote detracts from the seriousness of the issue. The Swarthmore policy on sexual assault, as stated in the college handbooks, clearly defines acquaintance rape and does not equate it with other types of sexual assault or harassment, such as "inappropriate innuendo."

Michael Dennis, President
Swarthmore College Student Council
Swarthmore, Pa.

Adopting Babies Abroad

Four years ago, my wife and I decided to adopt a child. Last year our search led us to Peru by way of Korea and Colombia. All through the process we were helped by agencies in the U.S. that did paperwork and collected fees for themselves and the Peruvian attorneys. Not once was it ever suggested that we were buying a baby [SOCIETY, Oct. 21]. Some people in poverty-stricken Lima regarded babies as a commodity, but many Peruvians are dedicated to helping these children escape an utterly hopeless future. I was never prouder to be an American than during the weeks we spent with other U.S. families crying and laughing our way through an absurd legal system. These were not rich Americans snatching children from a foreign culture, but ordinary people trying to complete their families and help just one little child.

Ralph Showers
South Beloit, Ill.

International adoption is not always a haphazard or seamy process. South Korea's international-adoption program is a highly successful one that has been in operation for more than 30 years. It is a strictly

regulated process that attempts to guard against some of the irregularities mentioned in your article. One reason so many people have been disappointed by pursuing adoption in Romania is that from the very beginning there were no rules there.

Carol A. Kizis
Buffalo

Metaphors for the Middle East

It is true, as your story on the Middle East peace conference reminds us, that you can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink [WORLD, Oct. 21]. However, you can salt his oats, and that is what Secretary of State James Baker is so patiently trying to do.

Joseph W. Harb
Knoxville, Tenn.

Photographic Impressions

Several readers thought our Oct. 21 cover montage showed a bias against the nominee. "You portrayed Clarence Thomas as a vindictive man and Anita Hill as an angelic woman," wrote Whitney Namm of New York City. Other readers, including Lisa W. Lange of Cincinnati, were offended for a different reason: "The cover image underlines the pervasive domination-submission message that's been used for centuries to keep women in their place." We chose the two photographs for the cover on Friday night, after the first day of Senate hearings. The confrontation the nation saw on its television screens that day was an almost unbearably "hot" emotional event. It was that feeling of tension and conflict we attempted to capture on the cover. Small wonder, with the strong responses some of our readers had to the event, that they reacted sharply—one way or another—to the cover image.

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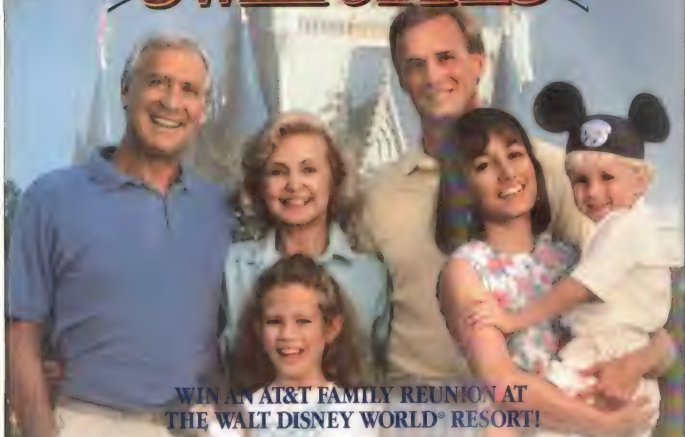
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INTERVIEW

Reading, Writing—and Iroquois Politics

Controversial educator THOMAS SOBOL defends the teaching of multiculturalism in American history, explains why parochial classrooms are often better than public ones, and admits that he oversees some schools he wouldn't let his own kids attend

By GEORGE RUSSELL

Q. As New York State education commissioner, you have caught a lot of heat for recommending that we emphasize multiculturalism in American history.

A. The heat doesn't surprise me. There is probably no more volatile subject in American political life than race. That doesn't make it any less important that we find the constructive, moderate, middle position on the matter.

Q. What exactly is that position?

A. My goal is that all of us in this society come to know more about one another, partly to live better with one another than we are sometimes now doing. There is no inconsistency between teaching the common democratic values and traditions that unite us and teaching more about our differences. In fact, they're complementary. It's just teaching more of the truth about more of our people to all of our students. Can I give you an example?

Q. Go ahead.

A. About three or four years ago, I was visiting Thomas Jefferson High School in Brooklyn. The school is largely black, a few

Hispanic and a few white kids. I sat in on a group of blacks trying to come to grips with the name of the school, Thomas Jefferson. There were some who thought Jefferson was probably one of the greatest Americans; they ought to be very proud to be part of a school that bears his name. Others said, Thomas Jefferson kept slaves. How can you have any pride in yourself as a young black American while being part of a school that bears the name of a slave owner?

The discussion was guided by a very skillful teacher, who eventually got a good many of the kids around to the point that in a way both things are true. The point is that it became possible for those otherwise alienated blacks to feel comfortable with a larger tradition in which they had a role.

Q. One of the criticisms of multiculturalism is that it's a cover-up of the failure of education to help blacks.

A. There's no question we haven't done a very good job educating a lot of black and Hispanic kids. At the same time, I don't pretend that if we just make our educational program a little bit more multicultural, all the problems of black and Hispanic academic achievement are going to disappear.

They're not. This isn't the only thing that needs to be done. But it needs to be done. The truth of our history demands it.

Q. Diane Ravitch, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of Education, once said that New York State's curriculum is perhaps the only one that describes the main influences on the U.S. Constitution as the Enlightenment and the Iroquois political system. Why do you teach that?

A. Well, it depends on the way we teach it. It's very clear to me that our Constitution derives from the political traditions and thinking of Western Europe. Now it is a fact, I guess, that the Iroquois nations learned to live compatibly with one another. Whether or not that had any impact on the people who were the framers of the Constitution, I don't know, but I am set to acknowledge its possible influence in part. It makes sense to me not to overemphasize it.

Q. But why teach it at all?

A. Why teach anything that's part of our history if there are only a few people involved? Why would you want *not* to teach it?

Q. For a number of reasons, including the likelihood that talking about it is not germane to the Constitution.

A. Those are good considerations, but the fact is that there were people here in New York State before the Europeans arrived. They had some forms of government. I don't think it's irrelevant for people to know what all of that was. We're not out to make a *Dances with Wolves*; we're not out to romanticize anything. But I see no harm in talking about it.

Q. Another concern about multiculturalism is that we are not teaching history for its own sake but to insert lessons in self-esteem into the curriculum.

A. It's not a goal of what we're doing. Our goal is intellectual honesty. But if it happened to promote self-esteem along the way, why would anyone object?

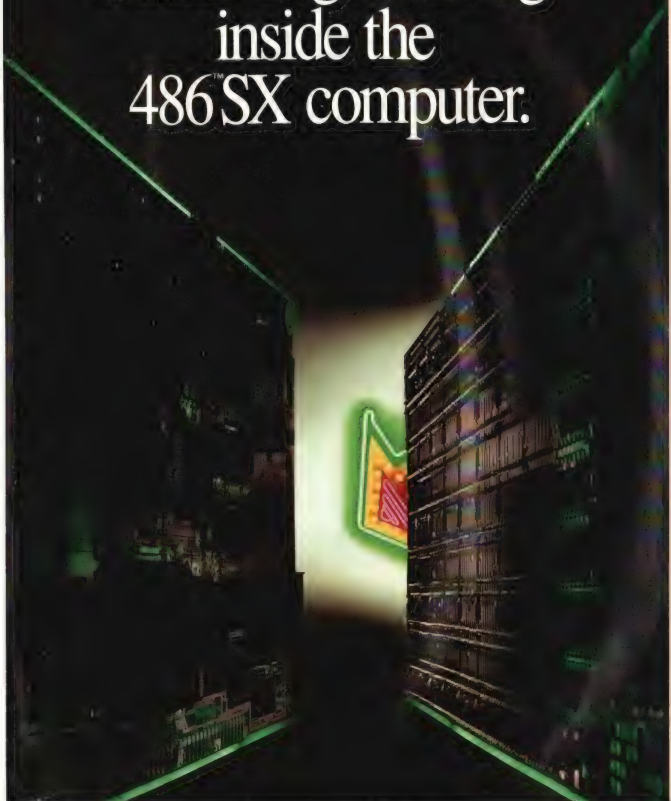
Q. Some people disagree that there is a direct correlation between improvement in self-esteem and the ability to learn.

A. There is that correlation, by the way. Any experienced teacher will tell you that those children learn better who think well about themselves? What would be dangerous to do—and what we are not doing—is to try to create a history program with the false goal of making kids feel good.

Q. What do you think about setting up separate schools for black males to improve their education?

A. I'm not comfortable with it. Again, my goal is to bring people together, not be divisive. I understand the motivation for it. Most of the people who seem attracted to that movement strongly feel that kids have

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INTERVIEW

not been given a good education elsewhere, and they're trying to find something that works. Lots of white kids attend schools with virtually no minority population, and we tend not to be concerned about that. So you can sort of understand the motivation of other people who want to do the same thing.

Q. Why are you concerned in the one case and not in the other?

A. I guess I'm a product of my own upbringing. It's just more traditional to accept that as the norm in society.

Q. Frustration with public education is at an all-time high. How come?

A. First and foremost, many circumstances have changed in society, and schools have not kept pace. Our demography, how parents spend their time, the increase in the use of technology, the globalism of our economy—the world has changed dramatically. But the schools by and large are the same. You can make a case that in many respects the schools are improving, not getting worse. For example, when my father graduated from high school around World War I, 1 of 4 Americans did so. Now we're graduating 3 of 4. The problem is that the modern economy can't tolerate a condition in which 1 of 4 young people fails to complete high school. We don't have large railroads to build by hand or forests to clear or whatever. We don't have that demand for relatively unskilled labor anymore.

Another reason is that more kids are spending more time on their own; they're not under adult supervision. Schools are being called upon to do more in this area. We're not equipped to do it very well. Some schools do a good job of it, others do less, but it all fuels the dissatisfaction.

Q. There also seems to be a feeling that graduates are less competent.

A. I'm not sure that our best students from our best schools are less well prepared than when I graduated. Where I agree is that many of our graduates still lack the skills they need to function effectively in this society, and this requires vigorous programs for change.

Q. Not being able to read and write is a fairly serious deficiency.

A. It is a very, very serious matter. It is not just that some of our urban schools are failing, but even in our gilded suburbs we are not doing the job we should for many of our kids. We have a program right now for trying to solve that, the New Compact for Learning.

Q. What is it?

A. It's an agreement among parents, educators, government and business in New York State to come together to make the required changes in the system. It has cer-

INTERVIEW

tain principles. The first is, we've got to focus on results. The job is not to teach lessons, conduct classes. The job is to make sure the students learn. The second is that you can't be satisfied with minimum competence. The third is that you have to reward success and remedy failure. Many of our traditional schools seem to be like the societies of Eastern Europe—a sense of staleness, lack of ownership by the participants, going through the motions. We've got to create incentives for people to push toward better results.

The last of the principles is the notion that it takes the whole village to raise a child. The schools have the kids only 180 days a year, for several hours a day. The rest of the time the children are away from those influences.

Q. You raise many issues, but one of them you avoid is school choice, the notion that parents can opt to send their kids to private schools, using public funds to help them.

A. One of the proposals we tentatively made about a year or so ago was a pilot program of non-public school choice where the public schools were demonstrably failing some students. In the end, the opposition—from the teachers' union, school-board associations, school-administrative groups—was so forceful we withdrew the proposal. One of the reasons I made the proposal was to penetrate people's consciousness that the need for fundamental reform is real and that we are serious about it.

Q. Why do you think the parochial school system performs better than the public system?

A. First, any child in that system is there because somebody in that child's life made a conscious decision that that's where they ought to be. Somebody is interested in the child and the child's education. Second, the relative lack of a dead hand of bureaucracy: I think they have flexibility. Also, the ethos. There simply is a set of values that takes it for granted that learning is important. But I was for many years a school superintendent in the Scarsdale public school system, which turned out many highly successful students. It was the norm in that school that people would take learning seriously, and they achieved well.

Q. Are you willing to dissolve a school in the New York system because it is not doing its job?

A. Yes, or at least shut it down and reorganize it. There are some schools in this state I would not want any of my children attending, and I think it is terribly wrong that we permit them to continue. My first instinct would be to collaborate with the people involved and try to get them to improve the situation. But if that did not work, of course we would want to change the situation. ■



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CRITICS' VOICES

BY TIME'S REVIEWERS. Compiled by Andrea Sachs



THEATER

ON BORROWED TIME.

George C. Scott is back on Broadway as a quintessential foxy grandpa, all harmless cuss-words and mock-fierce benevolence, in a sentimental 1938 comedy-drama about an old man's battle of wits with death. What a pity to waste his gifts on piffle.

THE BABY DANCE.

A desperate L.A. yuppie couple arrange to buy the unborn child of a dirt-poor Louisiana pair in Jane Anderson's passionate off-Broadway drama, beautifully realized in the fierce, moving performances of TV's Linda Purl and Stephanie Zimbalist, and Richard Lindebeck.



TELEVISION

EDGE (PBS, Nov. 6 and 10 on most stations). PBS's new monthly magazine series on pop culture, with host Robert Krulwich, enlivens some familiar topics (Grateful Dead fanatics, Norman Mailer's new

novel) with personal points of view from such contributors as Buck Henry and critic James Wolcott.

IT'S ONLY TELEVISION (Nickelodeon, Nov. 6, 5 p.m. and Nov. 8, 7 p.m. EST). Do TV news programs tell the truth? How close to reality are TV sitcoms and dramas? Host Linda Ellerbee addresses these and other questions in this level-headed half-hour children's special, which encourages kids to think about and even—gasp!—criticize what they see on TV.

THE RETURN OF ELIOT NESS

(NBC, Nov. 10, 9 p.m. EST). Robert Stack is back as TV's most famous G-man, as still an other classic TV series. *The Untouchables*, proves there's life after death.



MUSIC

KILLER JOE: SCENE OF THE CRIME

(Hard Ticket). The knockdown, knockout party record of the season, if your idea of a blowout is straight-from-the-heart rock with the rollicking flavor of the Jersey shore, Killer Joe Delia is a piano pounder with a

raucous voice, and he's buttressed here by the eloquent drumming of his crony Max Weinberg, late of the E Street Band, and guest performers like Little Steven and Jon Bon Jovi. Glory days indeed.

RICKIE LEE JONES: POP POP

(Geffen). One of rock's most idiosyncratic talents bends pop standards like *I'll Be Seeing You* and *Second Time Around* to her own offbeat styling. She comes up with interpretations that career between the telling and the bizarre, but some of the most surprising renditions—like, for God's sake, *Hi-Lili Hi-Lo*—turn out to be the most successful.

DIRE STRAITS: ON EVERY STREET

(Warner Bros.). Likely you've caught the first single, *Calling Elvis*, on the radio. The rest of the record is similar: edgy, mysterious, insinuating, with some typically masterly guitar work by Mark Knopfler. Dire Straits is the most stylishly surreptitious group in all of rock; the music seems to drift off into the unconscious as soon as you hear it, leaving the impression that it's been part of your life forever—or at least since Elvis.



MOVIES

BILLY BATHGATE. Over budget and over schedule, with rumors of rancor soiling its production, Robert Benton's movie of the F.L. Doctorow novel arrives in a shroud of doom. Well, surprise! There's rare grace and gravity in the tale of a Bronx kid (Loren Dean, a find) who hitches his hopes to the falling star of gangster Dutch Schultz (Dustin Hoffman, again splendid). Forget the Cassandra, for see a good movie.

ANTONIA & JANE. Chic Antonia, plain Jane. These young Englishwomen are "friends, with all the baggage—competition, envy, bonding and bondage—that the word carries.

Marcy Kahan's witty script sees all men as dofs, and director Beeban Kidron sees all camera angles as cute, but you could still enjoy this wry, desperate comedy of '90s sisterhood.

LIFE IS SWEET. Another brisk, weeny English comedy, and welcome as well. In a family out of a skewed sitcom, Mum and Dad try not to fret while their 21-year-old twin daughters offer up fun-house images of 21st century Britain: stoic and efficient or raging and aimless. Somehow, Mike Leigh's movie is hopeful. It says the nation will always survive adversity in the old-fashioned way: with a smile and a shrug.



ART

HALLOWED HAUNTS: THE DRAWINGS AND WATERCOLORS OF CHARLES ADDAMS. National Academy of Design, New York City. The creepy and kooky, mysterious and spooky imaginings of one of the *New Yorker's* most famous cartoonists. Through Jan. 12.

OBJECTS OF MYTH AND MEMORY, AMERICAN INDIAN ART AT THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM, New York City.

A rich and vibrant collection of some 250 Western and Plains Indian objects, including polychromed ceramics, kachina dolls, God-impersonator masks and fetiches that were acquired by the museum's insightful turn-of-the-century curator. Through Dec. 29.

TELLING TALES. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. In the 19th century, narrative paintings were used to please and instruct, yet the genre fell into ill favor with the advent of the moderns. Fifty paintings and sculptures of that neglected style are on display, once again revealing the inspiration artists found in the Bible, history and literature. Through April 19.

DEAD RINGER

Wynn Dalton, a down-on-his-luck dinner-theater actor, finally gets a break: pegged as a dead ringer for serial killer Dwayne Gary Stecker, he is cast as the fugitive psycho for a segment of *All Points Bulletin*, a catch-the-criminal show patterned after *America's Most Wanted*. His appearance is a bit with everybody but the real killer—who disposes of the actor, assumes his identity and sets out to give the role some real authenticity. That's just the starting point for **PUBLIC ENEMY #2**, an ingenious comedy special tucked into Showtime's schedule this month (debuting Nov. 10, 10 p.m. EST). Dave Thomas, the brilliant, underutilized *SNL* alum, plays both the actor and the killer, and it's hard to tell which one needs psychiatric help more. Producer-director David Jabin crams a feature film's worth of twists into a breathless 37 minutes and skewers everything from TV's true-crime shows to America's celebrity roller coaster. Pound for pound, it may be the shrewdest satire of television since *Network*.

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AMERICAN SCENE

Four Corners, Louisiana

Raise High The Roof Beam

With sweat equity and private financing, the women of an impoverished backwater are building their own future

By DANIEL S. LEVY

Josephine Roberson positions a chalk line along the top of a sheet of plywood as Nolan Derouen flicks the taut string and imprints a fuzzy red stripe across the board. They slice the wood to size, carry it into Betty Hines' living room and nail it to the ceiling. Hines works at the back of the room, straining from the rungs of a ladder as she attaches tiles to the plywood with the

wiring and leaking roofs; few public services reach places like Four Corners. As the cane industry became mechanized, many people lost jobs that their families had held for generations. The average annual family income in this town of 400 is below \$10,000.

Life appeared grim until March 1989, when the directors of the Southern Mutual Help Association, a New Iberia-based organization that has been working for 22 years to improve the lives of sugarcane

company stores. Since crops are seasonal, the field hands ran up large tabs, which were then deducted from their pay and resulted in a lifetime of indenture. Those who quit were ordered off the land. Virginia Sutton, 74, a graying yet dapper great-grandmother of 17 and co-chairwoman of the group, once labored in the sugarcane fields for 70¢ a day. "We used to work from can't to can't," she says, recalling the long days. "You go to work, it is so dark you can't see your hand, and when you finish, you still can't see your hand."

Southern Mutual was the first to document the number of farmworkers in Louisiana. It fought for their legal rights and helped them obtain more than \$1.25 million in back pay. It established the first farmworkers' medical and dental clinics, gathered oral histories of life on the plantation, founded an adult-literacy program, set up a scholarship fund for the children, documented the use of pesticides and is currently fighting against the spraying of certain chemicals. "Four Corners' new motto is 'From can't to can,'" says Bourg. "From can't to can to do." Sutton now proudly shows off her refurbished home. "Southern Mutual opened up our understanding, so that we could know what we can do and can't do," says Sutton. "They came with good ideas about what we could do to help ourselves."

The organization came to Four Corners with years of rehab experience in other communities. Yet when its members arrived, the initial response of the local women was wariness. Says Mary Matthews, 55, Four Corners' other co-chairman: "At first, I didn't think it would work, but we then put our heads together and did it. Soon others heard about us and joined us. Now we don't want to quit. We want to finish."

Southern Mutual arranged for carpenters, plumbers and electricians to work alongside the women and teach them the necessary skills. "We won't get a carpenter or a plumber out here unless he shows the committee members as much as they can and want to learn," says Bourg. Much of the credit for the project's success belongs to the professionals, men like Derouen, 57, who have given more than just their time. Derouen, who just helped complete 11 houses and is ready to begin work on an additional 15, encourages the women, supplies materials at a discount and once even presented Southern Mutual with a laughable \$12.50 bill for roof repairs and materials.

Initial work in Four Corners consisted of emergency repairs: some homes were in such poor shape there was no hope of restoration, so new ones were trucked in from nearby communities. Subsequent chores included rewiring, plumbing or simply applying a fresh coat of paint, which is generally done by Four Corners' star painter, Thelma Collins. The women raise money



Derouen and Roberson cutting lumber

"They came with good ideas about what we could do to help ourselves."

aid of one of Derouen's assistants. Heavy rains, excessive groundwater and years of neglect in southern Louisiana's sugarcane region have led to creeping decay in Hines' home. Now, instead of harsh sunshine peeking through rotting walls, daylight filters through brand-new window frames.

Through a mixture of sweat equity and private financing, the women of Four Corners are replacing old wood with fresh clapboards, drying up stagnant pools and sealing busted pipes. The homes are livable again, and the community has found a new pride and hope for a better future. "It is a hard job, but together we can do a lot," says Roberson in a soft, raspy voice. "What gives us so much courage and strength is that we have so many people standing behind us helping us build our community."

Roberson, 59, is one of a determined band of women in this small unincorporated hamlet 20 miles east of New Iberia. Most of the 150 houses have antiquated

workers, met with 15 of Four Corners' women and offered to help them help themselves. The women founded the Four Corners Self Help Housing Committee and pledged to work together to rebuild their lives. The five-year project has not only shored up the homes but has also created a sense of accomplishment among the residents. "We held up a mirror to them, so that they could see themselves," says Lorna Bourg, Southern Mutual's assistant executive director. "They are reflecting their sense of self-worth."

Since 1969, Southern Mutual has worked to improve the lives of those who toil in the fields. Back then, many farmworkers lived behind the "cane curtain" in self-contained plantations with names such as the Bottoms, Oxford and Dog Quarters, filled with rented shacks reminiscent of the tarnished side of the antebellum era. The field hands were paid with chits and exchanged the paper for goods at overpriced

AMERICAN SCENE

through bake sales, barbecue dinners, fish fries and a TV raffle that netted \$1,345. All money is deposited in an account at Iberia Savings Bank, which, along with Southern Mutual and in conjunction with the Federal Affordable Housing Program, has set aside up to \$250,000 to make 1% loans to the residents. "The people live in our community, and we have a responsibility to provide them with decent housing," says Larry Mouton, president of Iberia Savings. "We want to teach them about financial affairs, so that they can pull themselves out of this cycle of poverty."

By year's end, the women hope to complete an additional six homes. They are forming a community-development corporation to rebuild the whole village, not just the housing, and have started to spread the do-it-yourself project to neighboring communities, like Sorrel. The work is not going unnoticed: Louisiana Governor Buddy Roemer declared Oct. 24 Four Corners Community Day to celebrate the spirit of self-help.

Most days the nondescript, rain-soaked community is filled with the sounds of crowing blackbirds, howling dogs and squealing pigs, along with the pounding of hammers and the whining of electric saws. Women and a few men can be seen carrying beams, and newly dug ditches quickly fill with golden ragworts, fire-ant hills and crayfish chimneys. Groups of women gather lumber from demolished houses, stretch the long boards across sawhorses and pry out old nails. After the wood is cleaned, it is sorted and stored in a shed for later use or sale.

Priscilla Loston, 35, the group's feisty treasurer, is one of the nail pullers. She recently received a new home, a former country barroom that was transplanted to Four Corners to replace her tumbledown shack. She did much of the makeover, dividing the interior into separate rooms and installing paneling and electrical boxes. "This is Four Corners Self Help, not sit on your butt and get help," says Loston, as she yanks out a stubborn nail.

At the regular Monday evening planning session, 30 women meet at the local Catholic church and loosely follow *Robert's Rules of Order*. The minutes are read. Loston announces how much is in the bank and what donations have been sent in. The women discuss the work and announce upcoming projects. A few members ask to borrow \$500 to \$1,000 for paint or supplies. New members sign a pledge to help repair every house in the community, and the lax and lazy are goaded to work harder. When all is done, the women hold hands as Robert leads them in an impassioned prayer thanking God for his help. They then wish each other good night and head out into the dark, back to their refurbished homes to prepare for another day of work, another day of change. ■

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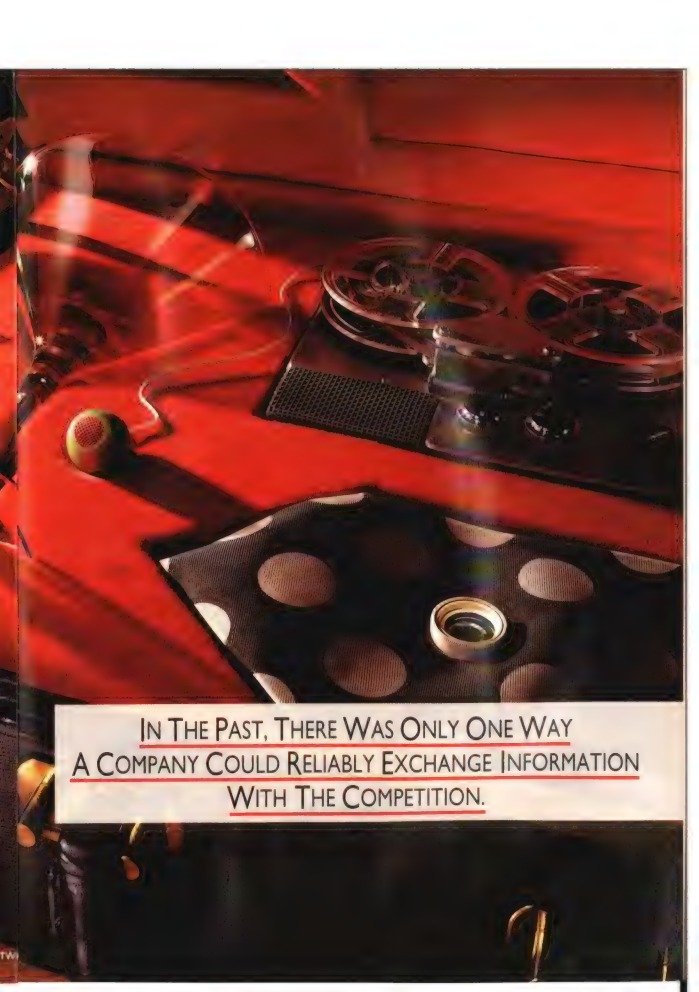
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How'd You Do Your DOLE Today?

GRAPEVINE

By JANICE CASTRO/Reported by Sidney Urquhart

THERE THEY GO AGAIN

Get out the Maalox, here comes **WILLIE HORTON II**. Republican pollster Bill McInturff says George Bush's 1988 attack ads will pale beside the campaign commercials both parties will air next year. The voters are mad as hell, and just about every candidate seems eager to harness that anger—or at least deflect it to the other guy. Besides, TV ads are too expensive to waste on reasoned debate over the economy and the homeless. The bipartisan conclusion: keep it short—and mean. Dan Quayle has appointed himself the "pit bull" of Bush's campaign. G.O.P. insiders boast that if Mario Cuomo runs, they've already located his Willie Horton: Arthur Shawcross, an upstate New York child killer who went on to murder 10 women after he was paroled.

WILL GATES BE GIVEN THE GATE?

Questions about **ROBERT GATES** resurfaced on the eve of the Senate vote this week on his confirmation as head of the CIA. At issue: former Israeli intelligence officer Ari Ben-Menashe's claim that Gates planned illegal arms shipments to Iraq with him in the mid-1980s. Gates convincingly disputed the charges during the Senate hearings. The Senate Intelligence Committee concluded after lengthy investigation that no "credible evidence" supported the allegations. But Ben-Menashe's credibility gauge took a jump when investigative journalist Seymour Hersh, in his new book, *The Samson Option*, named Ben-Menashe as a source for his charge that Nicholas Davies, foreign editor of London's *Daily Mirror*, was an Israeli agent. Davies denied a meeting described by Ben-Menashe, but was fired last week after the Israeli produced a witness and a photo. U.S. investigators are now re-examining Ben-Menashe's assertions regarding Gates.

YOU EXPECTED MAYBE MOTEL 6?

Luxury living is hard to kick. Arizona financier **CHARLES KEATING** has been pleading poverty in the wake of the massive failure of his Lincoln Savings and Loan. But while standing trial on 20 criminal-fraud charges in Los Angeles, he is ensconced in palatial quarters in the Checkers Hotel, a hideaway notable more for its antiques and luxurious spa facilities than for its low, low price. Keating's lawyer says his client is paying just half the usual \$225 daily rate. Besides, the hotel is near the courthouse. So is the Best Western (\$60 a day).

ALL IN A DAY'S WORK

As U.S. Special Operations Forces prepare for next year's Olympics in Barcelona, Washington is sparing no expense to train them in antiterrorism methods. Next month 150 elite troops will train during a week-long sail aboard a luxury cruise ship leased by the Pentagon. Price: \$450,000. Sunscreen not included.

FORWARD SPIN

BORN IN A LOG MANSION? George Herbert Walker Bush will never be able to claim the trendiest qualification for high office: childhood deprivation. It worked for Clarence Thomas. Mario Cuomo rattles on about it (the apartment-over-the-grocery-store bit). Tom Harkin now hopes to ride it to the White House.

UNEXPECTED FORCE What a difference a year makes. In the peace and quiet of his Supreme Court chambers, unassuming Justice David Souter is emerging as a candid, erudite and surprisingly forceful leader. Expect eventual consideration as Chief Justice.

THE MOM BRIGADE Ferne Milken, Molly Pollard and Sophie Altman are pulling out all the stops to defend their sons—junk-bond king Michael, convicted spy Jonathan and former U.S. B.C.C.I. counsel Robert. Better watch out for Fannie Gotti.

PUBLIC APPEARANCES Before their political campaigns, David Duke had cosmetic surgery and Doug Wilder shaved off his mustache (no one with a mustache has won the White House in more than a half-century). Next: the new Ted Kennedy, who is said to have lost 35 lbs. preparing for his Palm Beach testimony.

EXCUSES Guns don't commit crimes, parents do. From tales of incest and divorce to complaints of less serious parental shortcomings, everyone seems to be blaming Mom and Pop for whatever ails. Get ready for lawyers pleading the Dr. Spock Defense.

WEIRD FOOTWEAR Last summer's fashionable footwear was the hiking sandal, cute but not much good on rocky slopes. Now women are wobbling around again on those high-altitude platform shoes. Here comes a boom in orthopedic practice.



Quayle taking aim in Nebraska

VOX POP

Do you personally believe in the existence of UFOs?

Yes **40%** No **49%**

Do you think aliens from other planets have communicated with people on earth?

Yes **24%** No **59%**

From telephone poll of 500 American adults taken for CBS, August 21. 75% of respondents claim to be Christians. CBS News/CNN. © 1991 by CBS News. All rights reserved.



Keating has his standards



American Special Operations Forces training at sea

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	Vehicle Price	"Plus" Cash Allowance	Down Payment	Fixed Value	Amount Financed
Dodge w/26C Pkg	\$18,715	\$1,950	\$1,700	\$6,352	\$12,229
Lt. Bronco Laredo w/26L Pkg	\$17,641	\$1,850	\$1,800	\$6,704	\$13,110
Cherokee w/26K Pkg	\$21,999	\$1,950	\$2,200	\$10,340	\$16,749

the purchase plan monthly payments.



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TIME/NOVEMBER 11, 1991

COVER STORY

Nowhere To Hide

Using computers, high-tech gadgets and mountains of data, an army of snoops is assaulting our privacy

By RICHARD LACAYO

Open up in there. The census taker wants to know what time you leave for work. Giant marketing firms want to know how often you use your credit cards. Your boss would like your psychological profile, your bill-paying history and a urine sample. Is that enough to make you feel like hiding in a corner, muttering to yourself about invasions of privacy? Forget it—the neighbors might be videotaping.

Though the word privacy does not appear in the Constitution, most people would probably agree with the great Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, who once identified "the right to be let alone" as the prerequisite of a tolerable life. But the fundamental instinct to shield one's personal affairs from the eyes of outsiders is always under pressure from the no less venerable human urge to pry—and the snoops just may be getting the upper hand these days. Items: ▶ In June executives of the Procter & Gamble Co. in Cincinnati complained to police that company information was being illegally leaked to a reporter. To identify the source of the leak, Cincinnati Bell, acting in response to a grand jury subpoena, searched the phone records of every one of its 655,000 customers in the 513 and 606 area codes. P&G executives later conceded that the investigation was an error in judgment.

▶ Public uproar forced Lotus Development, a software manufacturer, and Equifax, a company that compiles financial information about individuals, to shelve their scheme to market a data base that would have allowed anyone with a personal computer to purchase a list of names, buying habits and income levels of selected households. The system would have permitted

small businesses such as dry cleaners, pharmacies and pizza take-out restaurants to get a bead on their local customers.

▶ The Employers' Information Service, a company based in Gretna, La., is creating a massive data bank on workers who have reported on-the-job injuries. For a fee, employers can request a report on prospective employees, including a history of prior job injuries and a record of worker's compensation claims and lawsuits. To keep from being added to other data banks, workers in Idaho are suing that state's industrial commission to prevent it from releasing such records.

It may be customary to think of threats to privacy in Orwellian terms, with an all-seeing Big Brother government as the culprit. But lately the threat comes no less from private companies, private citizens—and from our own imperfect notions of how to define which matters are properly kept confidential. The powers of government are fashioned under the pressure of society's own values and expectations. Lately those values have been in flux.

From the quiet frontiersman to the modern urban loner, the archetypal American is someone whose most sacred territory is the portable enclosure of the self. But if "Mind your own business" has long been a prime tenet of the national philosophy, "Let it all hang out" is now running a close second. It's hard to find a national consensus on confidentiality in a nation of tell-all memoirs, inquiring pollsters and talk shows—not to mention televised Senate hearings—whose participants air explicit sexual details that would have caused earlier generations to blush and turn away.

As the bounds of privacy dissolve under the demands for frankness, they also bend before the pressures for AIDS testing, drug testing and now even genetic testing, which

promises to predict each person's inherited susceptibility to certain illnesses but could also create a pariah class of people that employers would regard as too prone to cancer heart disease or other ailments. Into this volatile mix of half-formed attitudes and sharply felt anxieties, technology has arrived with a host of unprecedented temptations. Many new answering machines are equipped to surreptitiously tape whole conversations. Video-surveillance cameras quietly scan many workplaces. Neighborhood retailer now stock hardware that used to be the stuff of spy novels. But by far the most important high-tech threat to privacy is not an exotic surveillance device but a familiar storage system: the computer. Computers permit nimble feats of data manipulation, including high-speed retrieval and matching of records, that were impossible with paper stored in file cabinets. They have turned data collection into a \$1 billion-a-year industry—one in which nearly every American supplies the data, often without knowing it.

To get a driver's license, a mortgage or a credit card, to be admitted to a hospital or to register the warranty on a new purchase, people routinely fill out forms providing a wealth of facts about themselves. Little of it remains confidential. Personal finances, medical history, purchasing habits and more are raked in by data companies. These firms combine the records with information drawn from other sources—for instance, from state governments that sell lists of driver's licenses, or the post office lists of addresses arranged according to ZIP code—to draw a clear picture of an individual or a household.

The repackaged data—which often include hearsay and inaccuracies—are the



COMPUTERS HAVE TURNED data collection into a \$1 billion-a-year industry that gathers financial records, medical history and other personal information—even the record of every credit-card purchase. The data are then sold to marketers, mortgage lenders, small businesses and individuals.

POLL on PRIVACY

From a telephone poll of 500
American adults taken on Oct. 29
by Harris Interactive Group. Sampling
error is plus or minus 3.5%. "Not sure" omitted.

Are you concerned about the amount of computerized information that business and the government collect and store about you?

Not very
concerned
Very/somewhat
concerned

23% 76%

In detail, how concerned are you about the amount of information collected by:

21% 78% the federal Government?
21% 78% credit organizations?
21% 78% insurance companies?
26% 71% employers?
29% 69% banks?
29% 69% companies that market products?

Companies that collect and sell information Should they be allowed to sell or prohibited by law from selling information about you:

Allowed Prohibited

8% 90% household income?
12% 86% bill-paying history?
14% 83% medical history?
27% 68% product purchases?
33% 61% arrest record?

Legal protection Should companies that sell information to others be required by law to ask permission from individuals before making the information available?

No Yes

6% 93%

Should they be required by law to make the information available to individuals so that possible inaccuracies may be corrected?

8% 88%

Employers Should employers be allowed or not allowed to:

Allowed Not allowed

4% 95% listen in on employee phone conversations?
31% 67% check the credit history of job applicants?
38% 56% scan work areas with video cameras?
46% 45% require job applicants to take psychological tests?
76% 19% require employees to take drug tests?

Movie rentals Many video stores compile information about the types of movies people rent. Should they be allowed to sell or prohibited by law from selling this type of information?

38% 54%

sold to government agencies, mortgage lenders, retailers, small businesses, marketers and insurers. When making loan decisions, banks rely on credit-bureau report about the applicant's bill-paying history. Employers often refer to them in making hiring decisions. Marketers use information about buying habits and income to target their mail-order and telephone pitches. Even government agencies are plugging it to commercial data bases to make decisions about eligibility for health-care benefits and Social Security.

"In the not too distant future, consumer face the prospect that a computer some where will compile records about ever place they go and everything they purchase," says Democrat Bob Wise of West Virginia who heads the House subcommittee that oversees the government's use of data. "I'm not sure this is the vision of the future that will make Americans comfortable."

Because computer information is stored on small disks, it tends to be more enduring than paper records of old, which had to be discarded from time to time to make room for new files. As a result, long ago personal setbacks can now embed themselves in the permanent record. Two influential trade groups, the American Business Conference and the National Alliance of Business, have even joined with the Educational Testing Service, which conducts the Scholastic Aptitude Tests, in creating a pilot program for a nationwide data base of high school records. It would give employers access to a job applicant's grades, attendance history and the ancient evaluations of teachers. Just like Mothe warned you—a ninth-grade report card could follow you for life.

Privacy watchdogs are warning that the combination of invasive technologies and lax laws threatens to make the U.S. a nation of people who live in glass houses: their every move open to scrutiny by outsiders. "I see no reason why McDonald's needs to know my Social Security number or my previous job title," complains New York Law School professor E. Donald Shapiro, a privacy specialist. "The danger is not that direct-marketing companies will clog your mailbox or call you during dinner to hawk commemorative coins," says David Linowes, former chairman of the U.S. Privacy Protection Commission. "The danger is that employers, banks and government agencies will use data bases to make decisions about our lives without our knowing about it."

At the same time, privacy is not an absolute value. With U.S. banks being used as a conduit for drug money, for example, law-enforcement officials have pressed them to report any suspicious movement of cash. Though that may involve a conflict with traditional notions of banker-client confidentiality, many banks have been willing to comply. "The social value of helping to fight drugs outweighs, at least to some extent, the privacy issue," says Jack Kil

hefner, senior vice president at Wells Fargo Bank in San Francisco.

Business groups also argue that banning the sale of their customer data violates property rights. "The agenda of the privacy types is anti-technology, anti-free speech and anti-business," says Robert Posch Jr., vice president of legal affairs for Doubleday Book & Music Clubs and a leading defender of data collectors. "They're trying to play on the public's fear of computers and having their names on lists. But a computerized data base is only a file cabinet that's faster."

In the same sense, a car is just a buggy that goes faster—and yet the automobile revolutionized society. Data collection is doing the same. A number of catalog retailers and financial companies now make use of a business version of Caller I.D., a service offered by some phone companies, that lets them see the name, phone number and credit history of customers who call them. Once a company possesses a caller's name and address, it can dig up even more by linking with hundreds of data banks that also have the name on file. A phone number alone is so valuable to telemarketers that some companies advertise free phone-information lines as bait to gather numbers.

Three giant credit bureaus—TRW, Equifax and Trans Union—dominate the consumer-data industry, which also includes about 450 smaller outfits. Every month the Big Three purchase computer records, mostly from banks and retailers, that detail the financial activity of virtually every adult American. TRW and Equifax each have 150 million individual files. According to a report in the *Wall Street Journal*, anyone who applies for a credit card is listed on Equifax's "credit-seekers hot line," a popular buy for marketers, while the Bankcard hot line at Trans Union lists all credit-card purchases.

The Big Three credit bureaus argue that their products do not disclose truly confidential details. But until recently, for instance, Equifax sold lists of consumers who used their credit cards more frequently than the average. Combining that with census data, the company then used a statistical model to estimate the general range of each card user's income, though not to specify the actual amount. "We would not disclose a person's total balances or how much credit they have available in absolute dollar terms," says John Baker, senior vice president of Equifax, which serves 60,000 business customers and whose profits for credit reporting and information packaging last year totaled \$366 million.

That practice proved too controversial, and this summer Equifax got out of the business of selling direct-marketing lists based on its credit files. But smaller data banks have been breaking down figures to offer for sale such tidbits as the location of nearly every household in the U.S. that re-



HIGH-TECH SNOOPING GEAR and confusion about the reasonable bounds of privacy have combined to make everyone more vulnerable to intrusions upon personal affairs.

cently brought home a newborn child. For about \$25 to \$95 a month, plus search charges, customers of Information America, an Atlanta-based company, have access to profiles of 80 million households. By typing a name into a home computer, a subscriber can obtain that person's address, phone number, length of residence, records of property ownership, court appearances and business dealings. Some smaller outfits also have a reputation for selling personal data to people who may have no business seeing it—everyone from private investigators to bill collectors and spurned lovers.

Critics also charge that data collectors are deceptive. Few people realize, for instance, that when they fill out a product-warranty card, the information goes to a little-known data seller called National

Demographics & Lifestyles. "People fill out product cards because they want the warranty," says Marc Rotenberg, Washington director of Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility. "But they end up on the mailing lists of stereo and record companies. Was that part of the stated bargain when they filled out the card?"

For marketers, detailed consumer profiles are an unmixing blessing, making it far easier to target the households most likely to welcome their mail-order catalogs and other pitches. Direct marketers were once happy if just 1% of recipients responded to a mass mailing. A 5% response is now more common, which the marketers argue indicates that consumers are happier too. "We're matchmakers for parties with common interests," says John Cleary, president

Nation

of Donnelly Marketing, one of the nation's largest list compilers. "We make sure companies don't try to sell lawn mowers to people in high-rises."

Each of the Big Three also operates a separate unit that compiles credit reports detailing the bill-paying history of nearly every American. The reports are sold to mortgage lenders, credit-card companies and anyone else who can show a "legitimate business interest." The Big Three argue that their service is essential to the workings of credit-card and loan industries that most Americans could not do without. But their critics complain that the reports are frequently riddled with errors and that it is difficult and expensive for consumers to correct or even know about them. Earlier this year Consumers Union reported that nearly half the credit reports it studied from the nation's largest credit bureaus contained some inaccuracies.

Eugene N. Wolfe, a retired speech writer who lives in McLean, Va., knows all about that. In 1986 he was puzzled when a local bank turned down his loan request. To his horror, he discovered that for years an Equifax subsidiary called Credit Bureau, Inc., had merged his credit history with that of another Eugene N. Wolfe, who had a raft of debts. After weeks of conversation and paperwork, Wolfe thought he had cleared up the problem—until last

year, when he was turned down for a credit card and discovered that information pertaining to the other Eugene Wolfe had found its way back into his file.

"At one time I had to pay the highest interest rate on a car loan because the dealer was looking at bum debts that were erroneously listed in my name, but I didn't know it," Wolfe complains. "It makes you angry." Equifax contends that his case was unusual and that the company has recently adopted new software intended to reduce the likelihood of such confusion.

The issue of faulty reporting came to a head in July, when the attorneys general of six states—Alabama, California, Idaho, Michigan, New York and Texas—brought suits against TRW's credit-agency operation, accusing it of violating consumer privacy and failing to correct serious reporting errors. The company filed countersuits in federal court arguing that the federal Fair Credit Reporting Act of 1970 supersedes state law. But recently TRW also announced that it would supply consumers on request with free copies of their own credit files, instead of charging up to \$20 a copy. Trans Union and Equifax declined to follow suit, arguing that providing free reports would be too expensive. Equifax executives argued that there was no great

consumer demand for cheaper reports.

The pressure on the companies seems likely to increase. On Capitol Hill, the House has before it legislation that would require written agreement from consumers before information about them is released by a bank, credit bureau or other institution. Credit agencies oppose the bill, along with another introduced by California Representative Esteban Torres that would update the Fair Credit Reporting Act which gave consumers the right to see and, if necessary, correct their credit records. That bill would require all credit agencies to send consumers, upon request, one free copy of their report annually, as TRW has voluntarily agreed to do.

While data bases are an almost hidden threat to privacy, American workers are also finding themselves up against more visible measures to probe them and keep them under watch. When Sibi Soroka in interviewed for a job as a security guard in April 1989 at a Target store in Pleasanton, Calif., he was asked to take a three-hour written psychological test. The interviewer told him that it would assess Soroka's ideas about the world of work. Soroka was stunned to discover that many of the true false questions on the test centered on sex, religion and political beliefs. "My sex life satisfactory," read one. "I believe in the second coming of Christ," read another.

DO-IT-YOURSELF ESPIONAGE

Psst. Want a briefcase that conceals a tiny video camera? How about a mini tape recorder that has a pinhead microphone disguised as a tie tack? You don't have to buy this stuff in a back alley. Just head over to your local CCS Counter Spy Shop, a chain with retail outlets in New York City, Houston, Miami and Washington that specializes in high-tech snooping gear. According to Tom Felice, sales manager for the New York City store, clandestine recording devices are the biggest sellers. "The more discreet they are, the more popular," he says. "There are a lot of paranoid people out there." Enough for the industry to claim total sales last year of \$200 million.

Counter Spy is not alone. Other big electronics retail chains and smaller mail-order outfits are also bringing elite snooping into the mass market. New Jersey-based Edmund Scientific sells an electronic microphone for \$625 that it claims can "pull in voices up to three-quarters of a mile away." Life Force Technologies in Colorado sells a briefcase with a hidden tape recorder for \$1,195. "Invading someone's privacy has become as easy as walking into your local electronics store," complains Morton Bromfield, executive director of the American Privacy Foundation, based in Wellesley, Mass.

Many of these products can be used in ways that are not just obnoxious but illegal. For instance, federal law prohibits the taping of telephone conversations unless at least one of the parties on the line knows that the conversation is being recorded. But so long as retailers remain unaware of—and don't ask about—the potentially illegal purposes that a customer may have in mind, they cannot be held liable. Nine years ago, Radio Shack's parent company, Tandy Corp., was sued by Elizabeth Flowers, a South Carolina woman whose husband used a miniature recording device to secretly tape her phone calls after she filed for divorce. Lawyers for

Radio Shack successfully argued that the company had no responsibility in the matter because it did not know what her husband planned to do with the device. "There would be nothing left to sell if we withdrew all the products that might be used illegally," says Robert Miller, a Radio Shack vice president. Besides, he adds, with unintended irony, it is not the company's business what customers do with the products "in the privacy of their own homes." But if the use of such devices becomes widespread, there may be much privacy left at home—or anywhere else.

—By Richard Lacayo. Reported by Thomas McCarroll/New York



An array of citizens' spy gear

"I was astonished at how intrusive the questions were," he recalls. "But I needed a job." Though Soroka received a job offer after completing the test, he filed a class action against Target in September 1989. His suit is believed to be the first major court challenge to the increasingly common use of psychological testing as a condition of employment.

Defenders of the tests say they are needed for such workers as armed security guards, one of the few kinds of employees that Target subjects to the examination. "When we entrust individuals with weapons to protect the public, I think it's important to assess their emotional stability," says James Butcher, a psychology professor at the University of Minnesota who helped revise the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. An earlier version of that test provided many of the questions that were asked of Soroka. The revised version eliminates some of the inquiries about religion and sexuality.

Opponents of psychological screening say it is not only invasive, it's ineffective. "It just isn't the exact science people pretend that it is," says Lewis Maltby of the American Civil Liberties Union in New York City. "We have some ability to identify people who are potential thieves by a written psychological test. If you were to test 100 potential employees, you could probably catch 8 of the 10 thieves. But the only way you could do it is by rejecting 50 of the 100 people. So to catch 8 guilty people, you're denying a job to 42 innocent ones."

Surveillance at the workplace is also a concern for an increasing number of jobholders. Drug testing is just the most publicized variety. One increasingly common tactic is to listen in on employees who deal with the public over the phone. Reservation clerks, phone-company operators and anyone who takes phone orders for catalog companies and telemarketers are all likely to be monitored. So are the customers they talk to. The Communications Workers of America, a union active in the fight against such surveillance, estimates that 6 million American workers are subject to monitoring. Surveillance at BellSouth, a group of phone companies in a nine-state Southern region, is typical—about two to five calls a month for each service representative and 30 a month for each operator, less than 1% of all the calls they handle.

Employers say monitoring is both legal and necessary to measure productivity and ensure that their telephone representatives are accurate and courteous in their exchanges with customers. Privacy and labor experts largely concede that employers have a right to monitor workers as part of training and supervisory functions. What they question is the value of employee surveillance—and the acceptable limits. "Supervisors have said to me, you're being too



JOB APPLICANTS are ever more subject to physical and psychological tests, while many employees are the targets of employer eavesdropping and other forms of surveillance.

friendly, your voice sounds too sexy on the phone," claims Shirley Webb, a Southern Bell service consultant.

Barbara Otto, a director of 9 to 5, National Association of Working Women, a Cleveland-based women's advocacy group, says such monitoring can backfire. Telephone operators who are penalized for taking too much time with inquiries already tell of cutting short customer calls. At the same time, the personal calls of employees pass through the monitor's earphone. "Employers start catching non-work related information," Otto complains. "They discover that employees are spending weekends with a person of the same sex or talking about forming a union."

The House and Senate have before them bills that would require a visual signal

or audible tone on the line when monitoring is going on. Among the leaders in the fight against them has been AT&T, which lobbied successfully to kill one such bill in Virginia. "Factory supervisors don't blow whistles to warn assembly-line workers they're coming," says an AT&T official.

Inevitably, Americans have been looking to Congress to resolve the questions concerning privacy. One irony is that the Federal Government is the nation's largest data compiler. At last count, in 1982, it possessed more than 3.5 billion files on individual Americans—an average of 15 per person, with more sure to come. Much of the data consists of uncorroborated information and hearsay, which could be potentially damaging to individual rights if it fell into the wrong hands. While the FBI has

Nation

shelved plans to build a national computer bank that police could use to keep track of criminal suspects, it is still creating a data base on the 25 million Americans who have ever been arrested, even if they were not convicted. Meanwhile, the census is not just counting heads but peeking inside them. Instead of the usual short forms, 17% of all households last year received a longer questionnaire that asked such questions as How long is your workday commute? and How many people travel to work with you? Names of all individuals will be removed from the census files before the information is stored on personal-computer disks that marketers can buy.

Because the forms of privacy intrusion are so numerous and varied, no single remedy applies to them all. Congress is soon expected to tackle one of the most jolting new developments in telemarketing: the automated dialing machines that can call every number in a telephone exchange, one after another, to make pre-recorded sales pitches. Over the objections of civil libertarians, who say the machines are protected by the constitutional right of free speech, both the House and Senate are considering measures that would ban or severely restrict the use of autodialers for most calls to private homes.

In response to a problem that lies closer to home, several lawmakers have proposed legislation to beef up the 1974 Privacy Act, the federal law that defends citizens from government misuse of data. Enforcement is haphazard, and loopholes permit agencies to stretch the law. Though the act would appear to forbid it, agencies exchange information on individual citizens in the name of detecting waste, fraud and abuse of benefits. They claim that such exchanges are legal on the ground that the disclosures are "compatible" with the purpose for which the data were collected. Under that loose standard, tax returns are compared with welfare rolls or lists of student-loan recipients. That might seem justifiable in a time of tight budgets, but the precedent it sets for going around the law could encourage more ominous practices, such as using the records of people in drug-treatment programs to search for possible criminals.

West Virginia Democrat Bob Wise, chairman of the House subcommittee on government information, has gone further. In November 1989 he introduced a proposal to create a federal data-protection board to ensure that personal information in government computers is not abused. Demanding more sweeping action, privacy advocates want Congress to regulate private companies' use of data by requiring consent for the use of information and

strict controls over its accuracy. They also call for the creation of a privacy ombudsman, like those in Canada and Australia, who can aggressively defend consumers' interests.

Gary T. Marx, a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who specializes in privacy issues, even wants Congress to establish a royalty system to compensate individuals—or consumers en masse—whenever personal information about them is sold. "If we are to treat personal information as a commodity," he wrote recently, "it seems only fair that those to whom it pertains ought to control it and share in financial gain from its sale."

If nothing else, that scheme would have the virtue of framing what can be a messy physical problem in simple market terms: Just what price do we put on privacy? No one can answer that question who has not sorted out the issues of how much privacy we need and how much we are willing to give up in exchange for things like convenience shopping, job opportunities, law enforcement and higher productivity. For us like the nightmarish Big Brother world of Orwell, the question of how much privacy Americans preserve will depend more on the values of the people than the whim and dictates of government. —Reported by

Tom Curry/Atlanta, Thomas McCarroll/New York and Dennis Wyss/San Francisco

NOW WE'VE REALLY GOT YOUR NUMBER

The new phone service known as Caller I.D. is a double-edged sword: it protects the privacy of some people, but at the expense of others. For about \$6.50 a month, plus a one-time equipment charge of \$45 to \$80, customers get an electronic screen that displays the phone number of every incoming call. First offered four years ago in New Jersey by New Jersey Bell, Caller I.D. is now available in 20 states and under consideration in 13 others.

Caller I.D. is being touted as a way to combat obscene and annoying callers. It also gives florists, pizza shops and other delivery businesses a way to check that incoming orders are not pranks. Phone companies have been promoting the service as an electronic version of the peephole that lets apartment dwellers see who is knocking. "Caller I.D. protects subscriber privacy because it lets subscribers decide who to let into their house," says A. Gray Collins, a Bell Atlantic executive vice president.

But it also diminishes the privacy of callers. Some businesses use a commercial version of Caller I.D. that quietly displays the phone number of people who inquire about products, investments or insurance. The numbers can then be used to obtain other information about individual customers from consumer data bases. Privacy activists

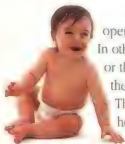
are also worried that the prospect of having phone numbers revealed will discourage anonymous police tipsters and callers to telephone hot lines that serve drug abusers, runaways and other people in trouble. Says Janlori Goldman of the A.C.L.U.: "The danger of Caller I.D. is that people lose control over when and to whom to give their telephone numbers."

Several states, including California, New York and Pennsylvania, have taken steps to prohibit Caller I.D. unless phone companies offer customers the ability to block their numbers from being displayed at any time. To pre-empt further moves by the states, the Federal Communications Commission has proposed that callers be allowed to block the display of their numbers on individual calls but not be able to demand that the phone company automatically block their numbers from being displayed at any time. The conflict may have to be resolved in the courts or Congress. The Senate has before it a bill that would permit the per-call restrictions proposed by the FCC. The House is considering a version that would allow the broader limits favored by some states. Telephone-company executives expect the two measures to be reconciled by the end of the year. —By Richard Lacayo.

Reported by Jerome Cramer/Washington



A telephone with Caller I.D.



She's also fairly adept at unscrewing tops and opening lids.

In other words, there's no end to children's curiosity or their resourcefulness. And, in turn, the dangers they can create for themselves.

This is especially true when it comes to household chemicals. Which is why we'd like you to take a few simple precautions to keep your child away from them.

1. Store all potentially harmful substances—bleaches, detergents,

Your one-year-old's language skills may not be all they're going to be, and she's not sure she has a handle on this walking thing yet, but she's really, really, good at opening cabinet doors.

spot removers, pesticides—out of the reach of your children. In fact, simply taking hazardous materials out of sight could eliminate up to 75% of all poisoning in small children.

2. Childproof those cabinets within their reach with safety latches. You can find them in most hardware stores for about a dollar.

3. Don't take potentially harmful substances out of their original containers. That label is, after all, your quickest and clearest source of information about the nature of the product and the safest ways to use it.

4. And while we're on the subject, why not take the time to read all the chemical labels in your home.

5. If you have questions concerning any of these chemicals, our Chemical Referral Center at 1-800-262-8200 will put you in touch with people who can best answer them.

6. So you'll always be prepared, look in your local telephone directory and note the number of the nearest Poison Control Center.

All this may seem deceptively simple. And it is. So why not take a few moments and make your home safer?

We'd also like you to know what the chemical industry is doing to produce, transport and handle chemicals more safely. Just call 1-800-624-4321 and we'll send you our Responsible Care[®] brochure.

**The Chemical
Manufacturers Association.**

We want you to know.

What kind of services was 33-year-old ex-White House aide **EDWARD ROGERS** selling for \$600,000 to B.C.C.I. insider **Kamal Adham**?



SCANDAL

Too Many Questions

But few answers about a shameless attempt to buy favor with the White House and the Justice Department's reluctance to investigate B.C.C.I.

By JONATHAN BEATY and S.C. GWYNNE

Over lunch in Washington a few weeks ago, attorney Edward Rogers seemed pleased with his new job in the private sector. After six years of seven-day weeks in G.O.P. politics and the White House, he had returned to a normal life. And while he didn't say so then, his new duties were looking extremely profitable. Rogers, who quit his job as executive assistant to chief of staff John Sununu in August, had found a gold-plated client to begin his first law practice with.

But Rogers last week had to kiss that serenity—and a \$600,000 two-year contract—goodbye. The wealthy client: Sheik Kamal Adham, the former director of Saudi intelligence and a key figure in the Bank of Credit & Commerce International scandal. According to the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank and B.C.C.I.'s main contact with Clark Clifford, the chairman of First American, Adham also received more than \$300 million in B.C.C.I. loans, according to bank documents.

Rogers hastily backed out

of the contract to help defend Adham from criminal probes, but not before he embarrassed George Bush. When asked what Rogers might be selling to Adham, Bush replied, "Ask him. I don't know what he's selling. I don't know anything about this man [Adham] except I've read bad stuff about him. And I don't like what I read about him." Though Rogers' contract with Adham was not illegal, it showed extremely poor judgment on the part of the former aide: at any rate, Bush's denunciation destroyed the value of the relationship to Adham, leaving Rogers little choice but to resign the account.

Why, after months of revelations about B.C.C.I. corruption, is New York District Attorney ROBERT MORGENTHAU not being given aggressive federal support for his groundbreaking probe?



Just why Adham turned to Rogers for help remains a mystery, since Rogers was not an important voice in the White House inner circle and won few friends as Sununu's gatekeeper. But Rogers' title implied that he had significant influence, or that suggests Adham was simply following B.C.C.I.'s universal recipe for success: be as close to the center of power as possible. An official familiar with both men suggested that Adham was merely trying to execute what Arabs call *wasta*, a sort of well-placed personnel fix, similar to Muammar Gaddafi's hiring of Billy Cart during the 1970s as a foreign trade representative.

But like the Billy Cart episode, the Rogers plot backfired, dragging the White House into the controversy for the first time. It also raises fresh questions about the Justice Department's plodding investigation of B.C.C.I. U.S. affairs. Congressmen Charles Schumer, chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice, promptly called for a formal probe of the Adham-Rogers connection. Both the White House and the Justice Department last week formally cleared Rogers of any ethics-law vi-

lations. Still, Schumer persisted in his calls for additional inquiries, in part because he says he believes that the White House may be far more involved in monitoring the B.C.C.I. case than was previously believed.

"There is a plausible case that someone told the prosecutors to slow down, to lay off B.C.C.I.," Schumer says. "I don't know if this is true, but when we've interviewed law-enforcement people in this case, Justice has insisted that someone from the White House sit in."

While officials were sorting through Rogers' records, a federal prosecutor met last week with Adham in Cairo in what might be a first step toward a possible deal with the Justice Department. Adham's attorney, Washington lawyer Plato Cacheris, denied that a plea bargain was in the works and said his client has documents to prove his innocence. "I'm not trying to plead," said Cacheris.

Like an oil spill, the B.C.C.I. affair has been slowly spreading, tarring a growing list of prominent U.S. politicians with links to the bank. They include Clifford, a former Secretary of Defense who is under criminal investigation; former President Jimmy Carter, who accepted millions in contributions from B.C.C.I. for his presidential library and his charitable foundation; former Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, who borrowed money from B.C.C.I. and did not pay it back; and former Treasury Secretary John Connally, who bought a Texas bank with B.C.C.I. front man Ghailth Pharaon. Even Secretary of State James Baker's name indirectly came up after acting CIA Director Richard Kerr testified before a Senate panel last month. Kerr revealed that in 1985 the CIA told the Treasury Department, then headed by Baker, that B.C.C.I. secretly owned First American Bank, the largest bank in the nation's capital—a critical piece of information that Treasury never pursued. Now TIME has learned that last May B.C.C.I. paid \$1.3 million in fees to the Washington law firm of Patton, Boggs and Blow, a lobbying powerhouse that includes Ron Brown, chairman of the Democratic Party, among its partners.

The Rogers episode coincided with new evidence that the Department of Justice, through blundering or design, is continuing to hamstring its own investigation and interfere with the aggressive inquiries being pursued by New

Did White House chief of staff JOHN SUNUNU know that his longtime protégé planned to hook up with a B.C.C.I. shareholder?



York District Attorney Robert Morgenthau. So far, the Justice Department's record is an odd mixture of passive and aggressive behavior: incuriously passive in its own pursuit of B.C.C.I. but intensely aggressive in turf battles with Morgenthau's investigators.

The mountain of bewilderingly complex information that has been made public about B.C.C.I. has made it easy to lose sight of why so many are agitated about this rogue Pakistani bank or why its connection to a former White House aide should be such an egregious sin. B.C.C.I. was the largest criminal enterprise in history, a bank whose principals stole an estimated \$12 billion from their depositors. In the U.S., B.C.C.I. used Miami as a staging ground for the largest single drug-money operation yet recorded, secretly bought and helped run the largest bank in Washington, and played a key role in duping regulators about the failure of Miami-based CenTrust Savings and Loan, one of America's costliest thrift bankruptcies.

TIME reported in July that the Justice Department was understaffing FBI and U.S. attorneys' teams assigned to the case. Morgenthau's complaints that Justice was withholding potential witnesses and block-

ing access to critical records led then Attorney General Richard Thornburgh to pledge greater cooperation. That promise has not been kept, according to Morgenthau's investigators and Justice Department officials in the field, who have declined to speak on the record for fear of retaliation. "It seems more effort has gone into hunting anyone leaking information to the press," says a Senate investigator.

Although the Justice Department announced in September the indictment of six former B.C.C.I. officials in Tampa on racketeering and

money-laundering charges, those indictments sprung from investigations started in 1986. Other long-standing grand jury probes of B.C.C.I. in Miami and Washington have languished, some for as long as two years without visible progress.

The frustration has spread to the ranks of federal law enforcement. In October a U.S. Customs officer wrote to Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts, chairman of the Senate subcommittee on terrorism, narcotics, and international operations, and complained that "tons of documents were not reviewed... and the CIA put a halt to certain investigative leads" in a 1988 Florida inquiry that eventually led to the indictment of five mid-level B.C.C.I. officers. "We had drug traffickers, money launderers, foreign government involvement, Noriega and allegations of payoffs by B.C.C.I. to U.S. government political figures. I will not elaborate on who these U.S. government figures were alleged to be, but I can advise you that you don't have all of the documents. Some were destroyed or misplaced."

Similar reports, coupled with the Justice Department's heavy censoring of B.C.C.I.-related documents subpoenaed by the Senate, have angered Kerry, who claims that the Justice Department is stonewalling his investigation. Kerry, who has held several hearings into the B.C.C.I. affair, is battling a Justice Department decision to prohibit him from taking testimony from former U.S. Customs Service agent Robert Mazur.

Mazur, who led the undercover sting operation that produced the first indictments of B.C.C.I. in 1988, quit the agency to work for the Drug Enforcement Administration. He reportedly was disgusted over the government's failure to pursue leads concerning secret B.C.C.I. ownership of U.S. banks and alleged pay-

Is KAMAL ADHAM, former head of Saudi intelligence and B.C.C.I. front man, trying to cut a deal with the U.S.?



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IT JUST FEELS RIGHT.

Why is the Justice Department censoring documents and blocking witnesses in the investigation led by Massachusetts Senator JOHN KERRY?



He insists that his department is moving against B.C.C.I., so why are law-enforcement officials grumbling about Justice criminal-division chief ROBERT MUELLER?

offs to U.S. politicians. Although Kerry has declined to release correspondence from Mazur, sources who have seen Mazur's allegations about a cover-up say they are political dynamite.

"There is a feeling that somebody in Washington is trying to cut a deal on B.C.C.I.," says a senior official, "that they really don't want the U.S. Attorney's offices to actually return indictments because that would muck up their ability to do some kind of an overall package deal, where we cut off the hands of a few Pakistanis and paint it as if they were really all the big folks. They'll get out charts and graphs to absolve the Sheikh [Sheik Zayed, the ruler of Abu Dhabi, who oversees the shuttered B.C.C.I. empire] and then let the bank reopen overseas" to repay its foreign debts.

There is logic to this complaint: B.C.C.I. losses are put at \$12 billion, and officials in this country and Britain have been pleading with Zayed, one of the world's richest men, to make good on the losses. Meanwhile, in Abu Dhabi, Zayed has placed under house arrest many of the bank officers wanted for questioning by U.S. officials.

Several federal attorneys and agents contend that they have been told by Justice Department officials that B.C.C.I. is a "political" case and that prosecutorial and investigative decisions must be made in Washington. "We are constantly flabbergasted that the Justice Department says we should go forward and yet we never get the permission from Washington," says a senior investigator. Others complain that applications to subpoena witnesses, suspects and records have backed up in Washington. Reporters on the B.C.C.I. story find as they

interview former officers of the bank who possess critical knowledge that these people have never been contacted by law-enforcement officials. "None of us can figure out why the department has become a roadblock on B.C.C.I.," says another high-level investigator. "Why hasn't there been a departmental priority on B.C.C.I.?"

But according to the Justice Department official who heads the B.C.C.I. investigation, such bickering from the field is the result of Washington's efforts to centralize and coordinate the far-flung investigation. "The orders from the top are to aggressively pursue this investigation and not to spare resources," says Robert S. Mueller, head of the Justice Department's criminal division. "There may be people who are frustrated, but the investigation is not being held up, it's being coordinated. We've got some blemishes, but we have not covered up." Mueller, who reved up the investigation last July by adding more manpower, also says his department is trying its best to work with other probes, in particular with the New York grand jury investigation. "I've told Morgenthau that I'm only a phone call away," he says. "I've done everything to cooperate."

Whatever the reason, Justice's inaction is even more extraordinary in light of other recent revelations. According to official close to the case, the Justice Department in 1989 abruptly suspended its inquiry into B.C.C.I.'s secret ownership of First American. In testimony in the Senate two weeks ago, acting CIA Director Richard Kerr added yet another piece to the puzzle by declaring under oath that between 1983 and 1985 the CIA had circulated "several hundred" reports to government agencies, including Justice, chronicling B.C.C.I.'s illegal activities.

The question that has not been answered is why the Justice Department has limited its inquiry and allowed the law enforcement community to believe that B.C.C.I. case is too sensitive to be handled in a routine manner. Former B.C.C.I. officers have told investigator that they believe the bank's extensive U.S. intelligence connections—which figure importantly in such undertakings as the Pakistan-based supply operation to the Afghan rebels, the bank's role in the covert resupply of the Nicaraguan *contras* and the sale of arms to Iran—help explain why the Justice Department is treating the inquiry so gingerly.

Some former B.C.C.I. employees also point to the allegations of political payoffs as the reason for the slow pace Congress has remained uncharacteristically silent on the subject, with only a handful of legislators demanding action. It may be too early to consider a special prosecutor; indeed there are no allegations of specific criminal activity yet to pursue. But in view of Kama Adham's blatant attempt to buy White House influence perhaps the time has come to appoint an independent investigator. —With reporting by Michael Duffy/Washington

What can SHEIK ZAYED of Abu Dhabi do to shore up a \$12 billion shortfall in the bank he now controls?



The People vs. a Dynasty

As the Palm Beach rape trial gets under way, America's most celebrated political family finds itself in the docket

By PRISCILLA PAINTON

Armed with a good legal team, a little luck and the deference accorded a dynasty, the Kennedy family has generally finessed its transgressions. The public has never learned the full story of what happened when Mary Jo Kopechne drowned in Ted Kennedy's car at Chappaquiddick, when David Kennedy died

of a drug overdose in a Palm Beach hotel, or when Joe Kennedy's jeep overturned on Nantucket and crippled a young girl for life. Last week, as the rape trial of William Kennedy Smith began in West Palm Beach with interviews of prospective jurors, the Kennedy family could count on two of its traditional assets. It has a good legal team (at least \$1 million of the Kennedy fortune will be spent on lawyers, investigators, psychologists, pollsters and experts on everything from jury selection to grass stains), and it has the good luck of a semibotched police investigation that did not begin gathering evidence at the Kennedy Palm Beach compound until two weeks after the alleged crime took place.

What the Kennedy family may lack this time is the deference that its name has customarily evoked. It is not just that the Palm Beach gentry always considered the Kennedys arrivistes, even after one of them was elected President of the U.S. And it is not just that the family of the alleged victim—unlike the Kopechnes, who did not criticize the Kennedys until the 20th anniversary of the drowning—knows its way around the legal system and has the money to pay for it. The difference is that the prosecutor, Moira Lasch, has a near 100% conviction rate and is as ruthless as any lawyer the Kennedy family ever hired. She watched seven years ago as her boss David Bludworth, the lead investigator of David Kennedy's mysterious drug overdose, was reprimanded by a judge for being "governed by what the Kennedys want you to do."

Lasch and Bludworth seem determined to prove the opposite. With an ice-cold calculation that belies her china-doll looks, Lasch has challenged virtually every re-

quest, motion or unanswered question from the Kennedy camp. When she learned that Smith had at one point retained Washington attorney Herbert J. Miller, she demanded that Miller be ousted and waved a book that described his role as Kennedy's counsel in the purported cover-up of the Chappaquiddick affair. "She knows her arguments, your argument



Smith gets support from his mother and a top-notch team: from top, Black, Schnapp and Roadruck



and a few arguments nobody mentions," says Bludworth. Most of all, she is not afraid to make a move that skirts the ethical edge: last July, as detectives working for Smith spread negative publicity about the alleged victim, she filed documents saying that three other women—a doctor, a medical student and the ex-girlfriend of a Kennedy cousin—were willing to testify that Smith had attacked them sexually. She was roundly criticized for delaying the trial six months and making public allegations that may be barred from court. But she did succeed in making it impossible for Smith to claim on the stand that he has an unblemished record with women without risking the introduction of contrary testimony.

It is Lasch's sense of defiance that has been responsible for her greatest misstep so far: two months ago, she antagonized Judge Mary Lupo by asking that the judge

recuse herself because of her "obvious bias" toward the defense, as reflected in her "scowling, glaring and frowning" at Lasch. The motion was denied, and the tension between the two women has not improved.

If Lasch has been aggressive, so has her opponent. The Kennedy family has hired Miami lawyer Roy Black, who is affectionately known as "the Professor" for his genteel demeanor but who has been anything but gentle in his legal assault against the complainant. Backing him up is the more combative Mark Schnapp, who made his mark in the U.S. Attorney's office in Miami by prosecuting drug dealers and money launderers, including helping to draft the indictment against Panamanian leader Manuel Noriega.

Since the charges of sexual battery were filed against Smith last May, the Kennedys have hired private analysts as far afield as Texas and Michigan to examine hair, blood and particle samples. Duke University's Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs conducted two public opinion polls for Smith to determine if he could get a fair trial in Palm Beach. Three detectives, including Steve Roadruck, nicknamed "Dr. Dirt" for his ability to unearth damaging details, have worked for nearly three months to help discredit both the accuser and her story. The strategy, as laid out in court documents, is to prove that Smith's accuser has a "long-standing psychological disorder" caused by an abusive father, an oppressive stepfather, a childhood sexual assault by a gardener, and a series of abortions, which led her to fabricate her charges.

How much of the woman's history will be heard in the courtroom under Florida's law protecting rape victims is uncertain. As the judge decided last week whether to introduce the victim's torn blue bra and Victoria's Secret black panties as evidence (yes) and whether to reveal to the jury that she is an unwed mother (no), an estimated 200 journalists converged on the town to cover what is already the most publicized rape trial in history. Anyone looking for a break from the media circus can drive a few minutes to Sprinkles Ice Cream and Sandwich Shop and order a cone. But even that innocent pursuit carries a reminder: the latest flavor is Teddy's Best, vanilla ice cream spiked with the Senator's favorite drink, Chivas Regal.

—Reported by Cathy Booth/

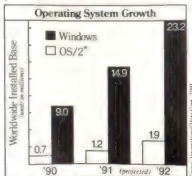
West Palm Beach

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With Jesse Jackson out of the race, Wilder hopes to capture the Jackson base and add enough white votes to become a finalist for the presidential nomination. Insiders predict a scenario of failure, but Wilder, having seen this movie before, thinks he can write his own happy ending.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

A Ghetto Kid Who Remembers His Roots

As the only black candidate in the Democratic field, Virginia Governor Doug Wilder deftly plays the race card while reminding voters he knows how to sop up the red ink

By LAURENCE I. BARRETT RICHMOND

His candidacy, Douglas Wilder says, with unaccustomed modesty, is the "longest of long shots." Democratic Party leaders, in unaccustomed consensus, whisper, At least Wilder's got that right. Granted, the Virginian wrote history in bold script two years ago by becoming the nation's first black elected Governor. Certainly he set a record for brass when he quickly seduced the Great Mentioner—that Ozlike creature manipulated by pundits and political junkies that pronounces instant presidential prospects—and challenged Jesse Jackson's primacy as the country's leading African-American politician. But Wilder for President?

He has no nationwide organization, no cadre of experienced advisers and scant prospects for raising a large campaign chest. He is emphasizing a message of fiscal austerity that puts him to the right of many Democratic primary voters. A party strategist

who knows Wilder well describes his guiding philosophy as "none, zip, zero." Wilder's insistence on playing the governorship by his own quirky rules has also caused his Virginia poll numbers to sink. Says Brad Coker, president of Mason-Dixon Opinion Research: "If he ran for re-election today, he could not win."

Wilder has seen this movie before. From the time he emerged from the genteel poverty of Richmond's Church Hill section, through a career as a flamboyant criminal lawyer and real estate investor that made him rich, during 22 contentious years in politics, Wilder, 60, has dealt repeatedly with rejection. Defying the Establishment, whether white or black, is his vocation. "I don't need the anointers," he says. "I don't need the appointers. Nor do I need the laying on of hands."

A crucial biographical fact appears only between the lines of his résumé. Almost alone among prominent black politicians of his vintage, Wilder

has not made race his crusade. Neither the church nor the civil rights movement served as Wilder's launching pad. A sense of personal entitlement served him instead, a belief that "as long as the Constitution was written for others, it was written for me." Often his color represented an impediment to be surmounted or a weapon to be used. He learned to do either well.

Thirty years ago, when so many of Virginia's whites enlisted in a "massive resistance" movement to oppose desegregation, Wilder maneuvered deftly among pro-integration factions. He served occasionally with a moderate group, switched to a more militant black organization, then back again, flirted with yet a third outfit composed mostly of white business leaders. He made friends in all three groups. In 1969 Wilder ran for the state senate in a special election. Against two white candidates, Wilder captured 18% of the white vote—enough to make him the state's sole black senator. But the new legislator, liberal by the standards of time and place, was a lonely figure. Jay Shropshire, then a legislative aide and now Wilder's chief of staff, recalls, "He was frozen out for the most part, ignored, bypassed." So Wilder became a leader of the "palace revolt," in which remnants of segregationist Harry Byrd's machine were ousted.

Wilder learned to exercise the power levers well and eventually became chairman of the group that controlled committee assignments. After a dozen years, he saw himself as the "cock of the roost in Richmond," eager and ready for higher office. But a larger rooster in the person of Charles Robb had moved into the barnyard, winning statewide elections without having served an apprenticeship. The advent of Lyndon Johnson's son-in-law rankled Wilder because it delayed his own ascent. An ugly feud began that still ignites periodically, burning both men. In the 1982 round, however, Wilder emerged victorious. He thwarted Robb's choice for the U.S. Senate by threatening to run as an independent and sop up the black vote. Robb's candidate, Owen Pickett, withdrew in favor of a more liberal candidate, Richard Davis.

A victory of principle? Hardly. Wilder was simply strutting his power. He soon reconciled with the ostensibly conservative Pickett, even blessing Pickett's candidacy for Congress. Then he broke with Davis. By the time Wilder ran for lieutenant governor in 1985, he was shedding layers of his liberalism. "He began to modify some of those positions," recalls Joe Gartlan, his longtime ally in the state senate. "He moved toward the right." Wilder had already abandoned his opposition to capital punishment. Now he emphasized fiscal frugality and crime fighting. Some black leaders muttered about opportunism, but most understood that Wilder had to be perceived as a centrist to have a shot at high office. Henry Marsh, the first black mayor of Richmond in the 1970s and a civil rights activist for decades, says, in Wilder's defense, "Flexibility is the mark of a successful political leader."

Wilder's "flexibility"—along with bumbling by his Republican opposition—enabled him to win in 1985 and 1989. Just as he assumed the governorship, Virginia became an early victim of the recession. Wilder faced a budget gap of \$2.2 billion, but instead of raising taxes, he deftly shaved expenses

without cutting major arteries. He also created a \$200 million contingency fund as a buffer against a 1992 deficit. Even some of his critics concede that he managed the crisis well.

The cash crunch inhibited innovation, but Wilder had not come into office with an ambitious agenda. He has reorganized the state's antidrug efforts, but that has yet to show concrete results. He made a token start on improving education assistance to impoverished districts, but has no resources to make that change meaningful. Nevertheless, Wilder takes his Virginia record on the road, contrasting his austere ways with Washington's profligacy. Unlike the other announced candidates, he enjoys twitting the unannounced Mario Cuomo. Virginia has done better than New York in hard times, Wilder implies. Besides, he observes, "who needs him sitting in the background, constantly carping, criticizing other candidates. He should come out here [as an active candidate] or shut up."

How bold would President Wilder be? His first formal proposal, announced in New Hampshire, was pea-size, despite its grandiose title, the Put America First Initiative. He proposed a \$50 billion spending cut, \$35 billion in breaks for middle-class families and \$15 billion in "reduce bureaucracy grants" to states. How this game of musical dollars would lessen the deficit is murky. Much clearer have been his recent attacks on George Bush as the first President in six decades to try to "turn back the clock on civil rights."

When massaging voters or talking to reporters, Wilder is genial, open, almost impossible to ruffle. But when managing the store in Richmond, he operates in a tight circle, rarely confiding in anyone but a few top advisers. He refused to consult key legislative leaders on his budget cuts. Public criticism can bring stern retaliation, even against allies in the General Assembly. The most recent instance of gratuitous vengeance involved his former press secretary, Laura Dillard. Disillusioned with her ex-boss, she told a campus audience that Wilder was capable of being a better Governor than his presidential ambitions allowed. Soon after, a leaked story in one newspaper implied that Dillard was fired for her animosity toward blacks and Jews. The item was so obviously nonsensical that no one who knows Dillard gave it credence, but it had the effect of silencing her.

Wilder denies being secretive, vindictive or unnecessarily combative. On the other hand, he says he likes having once been described as Richmond's "lonely bull." Pointing to his buttocks, he says, "If a foot is coming toward my behind, I usually grab it." As he seizes the invisible offender, he adds, "Some people call that confrontation. I say no, you can't kick me."

Life experience tells him everything is possible for he who gambles. For decades, Wilder, grandson of slaves and son of the ghetto, has taken advantage of every possibility available. A Virginia Governor cannot succeed himself, and Wilder is in love with public life; if he cannot get the presidential nomination, he isn't coy about being willing to take the second slot. "My future is now," he likes to say. Years ago, even some of his friends told him he was foolish to try for statewide office. He sees no reason to believe his adversaries, the insiders whom he has always confounded, when they tell him that national office is beyond his reach. ■

A genial campaigner and skilled spinner of reporters, Wilder can be secretive, tough, even vengeful. His quirky style drives down his Virginia poll figures and escalates skepticism about his temperament. Pointing to his buttocks, he says, "If a foot is coming toward my behind, I usually grab it." As he seizes the invisible offender, he adds, "Some people call that confrontation. I say no, you can't kick me."

Michael Kramer

The Voters' Latest Ailment: Health Care

Harris Wofford is the luckiest of incumbent U.S. Senators. He has the title and the perks that go with it, but he hasn't been around long enough to be tarred as a Washington insider—a decided plus given the current political environment.

Whether or not Wofford upsets former Attorney General Dick Thornburgh in this week's special election in Pennsylvania, the magnitude and reasons for his comeback from near oblivion offer significant lessons for those unlucky enough to be seeking re-election in 1992, including, especially, George Bush.

From the moment of his appointment last May following the death of Republican John Heinz in a plane crash, Wofford, a Great Society liberal, began transforming himself into a Huey Long-like Democratic populist. In one early move, Wofford rejected the \$150,000 he was supposed to receive for mass mailing expenses. In another, he renounced the \$23,200 pay raise the Senate had voted itself. "There's a national recession out there," said Wofford. "Now is no time for us to be paying ourselves more of our taxpayers' hard-earned dollars." Wofford gave the extra money to a charity for injured Gulf war veterans.

Those actions won Wofford editorial praise, but he still trailed Thornburgh by 44 points when the campaign began in September. His anti-Establishment pledge to "shake Washington up from top to bottom" contrasted with Thornburgh's defense of the status quo, and marginally improved his standing. His call for the Democratic Party to end its preoccupation with programs targeted to the poor in favor of a renewed emphasis on middle-class relief moved the needle a bit more, but Wofford was still considered a certain loser.

What finally made the race competitive was Wofford's constant carping about America's sorry health-care system. "The Constitution says that if you are charged with a crime, you have a right to a lawyer," Wofford intoned endlessly. "But it's even more fundamental that if you're sick, you should have the right to a doctor." Thornburgh claimed that national health insurance is too expensive, and rightly blasted Wofford for a lack of specifics. But the G.O.P. counterattack failed to resonate, and even Thornburgh was forced to admire Wofford's latest stunt, a bill the Senator introduced three weeks ago that would deny to himself and his congressional colleagues the free medical care they now receive unless and until the Congress enacts a national health-coverage program.

While many political analysts have focused on Louisiana (where David Duke, the racist former Klansman, is locked in a tight race for Governor), the White House has been worrying about Pennsylvania. "Win or lose, there are 1½ crucial things to learn from Wofford," says a senior Bush adviser. "The hall is about how a sagging economy can be played to advantage by

Democrats and about how easily a candidate perceived as an outsider can play the desire-for-change theme against an insider. The more important signal involves the sudden saliency of the health-care issue."

The rise of health care on the political radar screen is relatively recent. "Basically it's because cost increases for health care outpace family incomes by a factor of two or three," says the University of Maryland's William Galston, a leading Democratic strategist. "The anxiety is increased because more and more employers are requiring more and more employees to pay a higher share of health-care costs. What's worse, many people find themselves locked into jobs they don't like simply because they're afraid of losing their existing health plans if they change employment. As the inadequacy of health care is no longer simply an underclass problem, it becomes a more important issue politically."

At last count, 30 health-care proposals described as "comprehensive" were floating around Congress, and three of the Democratic presidential candidates have offered plans of their own. The most intriguing is Nebraska Senator Bob Kerrey's, which would require a 5% increase in payroll taxes. Normally, as Walter Mondale learned in 1984, he who advocates tax increases commits political suicide. But recent polls reveal that two-thirds of Americans view health care as a "right that should be guaranteed by the government" and that 70% would pay higher taxes so that all citizens can be insured.

Bush, meanwhile, is frozen. He announced in his 1990 State of the Union address that Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan would review the "quality, accessibility and cost of our nation's health-care system," and he talks about the problem at almost every domestic policy strategy session.

But Sullivan's report is nowhere in sight, and the President's campaign advisers concede their inability to construct a program pleasing to all. "It's an issue that works better as a statement of general principle and concern," says a Bush aide, "but as Kerrey and the others get down to details, we'll be pushed to come up with our own. Politically, it's hard to see the upside in any particular plan, but it would be worse if we sit on our hands and let the other side define the discussion."

Yet that is exactly what Bush might ultimately do. Right now the campaign debate within the White House is consumed with tactics: Should Bush promulgate his own health-care plan or wait to respond to the Democratic nominee? If Bush stalls, his approval rating may sink in the face of a challenger who appears to know where he wants to go and is courageous enough to say how he intends to get there. Sometimes even incumbents must accommodate the old political rule: in times of high anxiety, the race goes to the risk taker. ■



Too many pay too much for too little health care



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AMERICAN NOTES

CORRUPTION

Real-Life Miami Vice



Mayoral mug shot: Daoud

Alex Daoud was the perfect mayor for Miami Beach. Tall, dark and amiable, he once played a bit part on the TV show *Miami Vice*. A dominant force in Beach politics for 12 years, Daoud also played a part in the area's comeback as an Art Deco district.

But Daoud's life may have imitated art a little too closely.

The 47-year-old mayor was charged last week in a 41-count indictment with extorting money and services in exchange for official favors. Federal prosecutors claim that he tapped developers, architects and unions. His most serious offense was an alleged demand of \$35,000 from David Paul, former chairman of CenTrust Savings Bank, in return for approval to build a private dock at Paul's home on La Gorce Island. Daoud, who professes his innocence, is the third mayor in Dade County to be indicted or convicted for corruption in two years. Although he already planned to step down later this month, Daoud was immediately suspended from office by Governor Lawton Chiles. He faces a prison term and fines of up to \$12.7 million in cash and property.

HOLIDAYS

A Tree Grows In Washington

As Al Korenek drives his 90-ft. rig from Santa Fe to Washington this week, heads may turn. After all, it's not every day a gargantuan blue spruce is moved from the forests of northern New Mexico to the groomed lawns of Capitol Hill. This is the first year a living tree—complete with a 40-ton root ball—will serve as the nation's Christmas symbol. The 60-ft. giant will be garnished with strings of chili-pepper lights and 10,000 handmade ornaments from New Mexico, including silver coyotes, miniature pueblos, tin stars and brass jewelry.

Korenek, a tree transplantor, is scheduled to depart Santa Fe on Wednesday, after receiv-



The blue spruce has a new home

ing a Native American blessing at a farewell ceremony conducted by Governor Bruce King. "A living tree was chosen because it demonstrates the importance of reforestation and forestry conservation," said Don Laine, a spokesman for the committee charged with selecting the spruce. After the holidays, the tree will be replanted at the National Arboretum.

SOCIAL ISSUES

Behind The Times

What's a girl to do when she encounters sexual harassment in the office? If she's a *Cosmo* girl, she apparently should think twice before becoming offended. Helen Gurley Brown, the longtime editor in chief of *Cosmopolitan* magazine and tireless doyenne of social advice, believes there's still a place for "sexual chemistry" in the workplace.

Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* last week, Brown fondly recalled working at a Los Angeles radio station during



Brown: fond memories of office high jinks

the late 1940s and early '50s. Her male co-workers, wrote Brown, played a "dandy game called 'Scuttle'....[they] would

select a secretary, chase her down the halls... catch her and take her panties off. Nothing wicked ever happened."

According to the author, everyone enjoyed the pursuit and "no scuttler was ever reported to the front office. Au contraire, the girls wore their prettiest panties to work.... Alas, I was never scuttled." Brown professed shock that modern girls would disagree with her notions of what constitutes a playful professional pastime.

CONGRESS

Doing the Rights Thing

After nearly two years of political skirmishes with the White House over racial discrimination and quotas, the Senate last week voted 95 to 5 to pass a civil rights bill. The House is expected to act quickly to adopt the compromise bill, which overrides eight Supreme Court decisions and makes it easier for employees to sue in job-bias cases. An amendment to extend civil rights protections to Senate employees caused a last-minute sideshow of debate. Under the measure, the Senate's 6,000 workers, as well as political appointees in the Executive Branch, will be able to take their complaints to an office of fair employment practices. If they fail to resolve their dispute there, they may appeal to a three-member independent panel and, ultimately, to the U.S. Court of Appeals. Stung by criticism over the handling of sexual-harassment charges against Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, the Senate passed the measure to deflect criticism that Congress exempts itself from laws it applies to everyone else.

CONTROVERSIES

Too Small To Be Safe?

Common sense—and the laws of physics—dictate that a large automobile will provide greater protection from injury in an accident than a smaller one. A crash test conducted by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration on a 3,900-lb. Ford Crown Victoria and a 1,900-lb. Subaru confirmed that logic. But Public Citizen, a con-

sumer advocacy group, claims that smaller cars are nearly as safe when they are equipped with air bags and that tests proving this were ignored by the Federal Government. The group accuses the government of playing politics with the test results in order to defeat a Senate measure that would require all cars to improve the fleet average to 40 m.p.g. by the year 2000—a goal that would force the auto companies to make smaller cars. A car industry spokesman, however, counters

that the new standards will force the consumer into fewer choices and a greater risk of serious injury.



Smashup: Were results ignored?



MIDDLE EAST

Finally Face To Face

Hostile exchanges open the Arab-Israeli peace conference, but the rat-a-tat is sound bites and speeches, not guns

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

Outside the conference hall there were a few grudging handshakes among advisers, but also shouted epithets like "terrorist!" and "murderer!" In formal sessions Arab, Palestinian and Israeli delegates would rarely even look one another in the eye as they denounced each other and laid their cases before the world, but nobody walked out. At the end of three days it was uncertain, in the most literal sense, where the talks were going: the delegates concluded the opening phase by quarreling bitterly about whether they should continue meeting in Madrid or move to some different venue.

This is a peace conference?

Absolutely, and already one for the history books. No amount of confrontational rhetoric could obscure the simple fact that Israelis, Palestinians and other Arabs, sworn blood enemies for more than four decades, were sitting around a table, talking. The speechmaking in the tapestry-hung Hall of Columns of the Royal Palace in Madrid that opened the Middle East peace conference was, like a wedding or a baptism, a solemn rite symbolizing a new beginning. Come what may, the Mideast crisis, perhaps the longest-running and most en-

venomed in the world, had passed the point where the antagonists would not even talk.

Which is not to say that negotiations will succeed. The participants were talking to the U.S., the world, their own constituents, far more than to each other. If the conference started out about as well as could be expected, that is in part because everyone involved has learned to expect little. President Bush warned that no agreement could be foreseen in "a day or a week or a month or even a year." Meanwhile there would be snags, deadlocks, perhaps even temporary breakdowns.

So it was not surprising that both the Israelis and their adversaries began with statements that largely restated old grudges. Substantive discussions will come later—maybe; the opening was devoted to public relations posturing and symbolism. The Arabs and Israelis were there only because Bush and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker had seen to it that they could not afford to be absent. Boycotting the talks would have given the boycotters a black eye in world opinion. Attending allowed them to play to the biggest audience ever.

Rival spin doctors advised more than 5,000 journalists how every word and gesture ought to be interpreted. Every part of

the arrangements was calculated to make, or avoid, some symbolic point: no flags were allowed at the negotiating table, because the Israelis would not sit in the same room with a Palestine Liberation Organization banner.

On the outside chance the peace talks do break up, it will probably be over a symbolic point. Last week's opening was supposed to be followed on Sunday by bilateral negotiations in Madrid between Israel and each of three enemies: Syria, a Palestinian-Jordanian delegation and Lebanon. But the Israelis demanded that the talks be moved to the Middle East. By bringing Arab negotiators to Jerusalem, and then sending its own diplomats to Arab capitals, Israel hopes to achieve undeniable acknowledgment that its neighbors recognize it in fact, if not officially, as a genuine nation. For exactly that reason, the Arabs are resisting. A possible compromise discussed at week's end was to move the talks to another European city, Cairo or Washington.

The main participants played their hands with varying degrees of skill and clumsiness last week:

■ **THE U.S.** scored a considerable victory by getting the talks started at all, dramatizing its unchallenged status as the world's





The Palestinian delegates scored over a scowling Shamir, partly by symbolic acts like waving olive branches

sole remaining superpower. Bush did not need to make that point; Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev did it for him. The Soviet Union—"a country that exists only outside its borders," in the cruel summation of an American official—is nominally co-chairman of the conference, and its participation enabled some Arabs to claim that they were not just knuckling under to the U.S. But Gorbachev made it clear that Moscow would now fade into the background and pretty much go along with whatever the U.S. wants.

The delicate U.S. task is to keep the talks moving without getting trapped into so direct a role that it would seem to be arm-twisting one side or the other. Bush and Baker tiptoed through that minefield adroitly enough last week. The President reassured a wary Israeli delegation by speaking of "territorial compromise" instead of "land for peace," a formula that Israelis loathe. He also backed the Israeli view that the conference should lead not just to nonbelligerence but to "real peace." Explained Bush: "I mean treaties. Security. Diplomatic relations. Economic relations.

Trade. Investment. Cultural exchange. Even tourism." At the same time, he responded to an Arab concern by calling for everyone to "avoid unilateral acts" that might "prejudice" the peace process. Translation: Israel, stop building those settlements in the occupied territories.

The U.S. went home praying that its strategy of putting the volatile elements together in a room would in time produce enough chemical heat to generate compromise—but not enough to cause an explosion. Baker closed the round by sharply chiding delegates for failing to look to the future, but judging when and how to step in to bridge gaps will be the real test of the Administration's success.

■ **ISRAEL** howled to American decisions that elevated the Palestinians to near equal status, giving the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation two of everything: two conference rooms, two briefings, even two speeches at the sessions. Those concessions allowed Israel to soften its image of intransigence.

Then Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir blew it, big. He has always vowed never to give up an inch of territory, and he did not change that stance; he devoted half of his 34-minute speech to a recitation of the oppression of Jews through centuries

and indeed millennia. There was little in his speech to suggest a willingness to compromise, and he followed up on Friday with a bitter blast at Syria's brutality and tyranny. But Shamir was playing less to world opinion than expressing deep convictions that also work for him politically back home. He had appeased Israeli peaceniks by attending the conference while reassuring his hard-line supporters that he remains unbending on issues that count.

■ **SYRIA** was quite as intransigent. Foreign Minister Farouk al-Sharaa told the conference that Israel must give up "every inch" of the lands conquered in 1967. The next day he directed a ferocious personal diatribe at Shamir. The Syrians came across as hell-on-wheels tough guys who seemed to have no idea how to play to a worldwide audience—and maybe didn't care. They only had to please an audience of one: Hafez Assad.

■ **THE PALESTINIANS** were big winners. Instead of the unshaven face of Yasser Arafat, they presented an image of intelligence, pro-

fessionalism and sensitivity. They sounded the most conciliatory notes and made the first substantive concession, explicitly saying they will now accept the limited self-rule they spurned when it was offered as part of the Camp David agreement.

Haidar Abdul-Shafi, head of the Palestinian delegation, easily trumped Shamir. Though the substance of his talk was in many ways just as unyielding, its tone was mild, not complaining or self-righteous. He too was playing a public relations game, appealing to the Israeli peace movement and worldwide sympathizers.

More than public relations is involved in making peace, of course. The differences are real, the anxieties and fears—and ancient hostility—genuine. But paradoxically, p.r. may offer some hope. If both sides figured that they could not afford to stay away from this conference, they might calculate that they also cannot afford to let it break down, and thus they might be drawn to offer concessions—minimal and grudging, to be sure—to keep it going. Maybe not. But if in the Middle East it is always wise to prepare for the worst, it is equally necessary to expect the unexpected.

—Reported by Lisa Beyer, Dean Fischer and J.F.O. McAllister/Madrid

Why Should Americans Care?

The need for a prompt resolution of hostilities may not seem urgent, but the U.S. has a vital interest in peace

By JILL SMOLOWE

So why should Americans care whether anything comes of the peace process set in motion last week in Madrid? Are the stakes high enough to justify the considerable investment of President Bush's time and prestige? Do the risks of failure outweigh the potential gains? Is "peace in the Middle East" something Americans really need—or one of those dichard shibboleths that keep successive U.S. Administrations chafing around the track?

Ironically, if the prospects for peace in this perpetually troubled region have never looked brighter, the need for a prompt resolution of the Middle East's age-old hostilities has seldom seemed less urgent. The cold war is over, so U.S. fears of a regional tussle escalating into a superpower conflagration have subsided. Immediate threats to Israel's security are not much in evidence. Syria, despite a potent army, is no longer able to tap Moscow for funds and is wooing Washington to attract trade and investment. Egypt has de jure peace with Israel, Jordan a de facto one. Lebanon is struggling after 16 years of civil war. Iraq is prostrate. And the Palestinians are virtually without patrons. The threat of an oil embargo that could paralyze the U.S. seems distant, given Washington's strong post-Desert Storm ties with Saudi Arabia. Even the hostage crisis is subsiding.

But the short answer is yes, Middle East peace is important to our own well-being. It is not just a moral obligation—though, for a democracy and superpower, it is very much that. The U.S. has a tangle of specific strategic, political and economic interests in the region that ought to make Americans care about achieving peace—and its corollary, stability.

While the gulf war forced Israel and its Arab neighbors to the same side of the barricades, the alliance was temporary. The Arab-Israeli conflict remains a festering wound that prevents all the nations of the region from concentrating on economic and political improvement. The enmity bars Arab states from fully embracing Washington. It continues to spawn terrorist attacks throughout the region, including strikes on American targets like last week's rocket hit on the U.S. embassy in Beirut. And it compels Washington to remain fixated on Israel's security, a posture that fuels anti-American sentiment—and costs U.S. taxpayers a bundle.

The absence of a secure and stable peace gives all hostile parties a ready excuse to continue building their military arsenals. "In any future war lurks the danger

of weapons of mass destruction," Bush warned in Madrid last week. Israel is assumed to have a nuclear capability, and Iran and Iraq are in hot pursuit of the same. Iraq has already demonstrated its willingness to take on the American military juggernaut. As long as there is an Arab vein to tap that longs for the destruction of Israel—and by association, the U.S.—the Saddam Husseins of the world pose a genuine threat to American interests.

Islamic fundamentalism also challenges U.S. interests not merely in the Middle East but as far west as Morocco, as far east as Pakistan and as far north as the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union. Fundamentalists toppled the Shah of Iran, leading to the 444-day hostage crisis, and gunned down Egypt's Anwar Sadat. So too could they dispense with the friendly rulers—all too many of them dictators and monarchs—upon whom Washington currently counts. Perhaps the only hope of dethroning Islamic radicals is to resolve the Palestinian question, thereby denying them one of their best vehicles for inflaming Muslim passions. Instability also provides a handy excuse for the region's autocratic leaders to forswear democratic reform and continue their ironfisted rule.

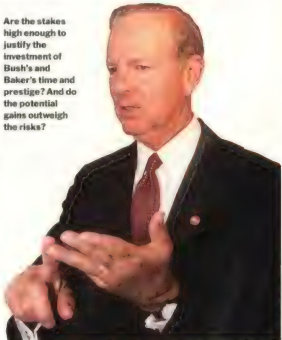
The oil threat also remains real. U.S. links to Arab oil-producing states, strengthened during the gulf war, could weaken again if hostilities with Israel flare anew. The U.S. survived the disruptions of Kuwaiti and Iraqi oil shipments during the gulf war by tapping into stockpiles and benefiting from a Saudi boost in production. That experience has done nothing to convince Americans that they need to fashion a new, conservation-oriented energy policy; U.S., as well as European and Japanese, dependence on Arab oil remains acute. Warns a British diplomat: "Anyone who suggests that the West, including the U.S., doesn't need Middle East oil is living in a fantasy world."

On the downside,

taking the lead in trying to make peace also risks a surge of radicalism and extremism if the talks break down. Arab states that came to expect a peace dividend as the implicit payoff for their cooperation in the U.S.-directed coalition against Iraq could grow hostile—especially if Israel is the main spoiler. The *intifadah* could reignite. Hard-line factions within the Palestine Liberation Organization might grab control. A new round of hostage taking could commence, and the safety of the remaining captives would be jeopardized. If the talks prove nasty enough, war might even erupt between Israel and Syria. All of this would chip away at U.S. prestige and influence—or even endanger Americans directly.

But Bush's "vision thing" is real too. If the U.S. hopes to be the guiding force in the new world order, it must prove its commitment to the pursuit of such principles as democracy, cooperation and conciliation. After pulling out the stops to win the war in Iraq, the U.S. must demonstrate that it will go just as far to win the peace. "A lot of people at the U.N., including our European allies as well as the Third World, look at the way we handle the Arab-Israeli conflict as a litmus test for our role in the post-cold war world," says Shibley Telhami, who was born a Palestinian Christian in Israel and served as an adviser to the U.S. delegation to the U.N. during the gulf war. The choice for Washington is not between sitting back cost free or taking a risk for peace. Rather, the choice is to intervene now, when the chances for success are highest, or to be sucked back into the Middle East maelstrom later, when there is no chance at all. —Reported by Dean Fischer and J.F.O. McAllister/Madrid

Are the stakes high enough to justify the investment of Bush's and Baker's time and prestige? And do the potential gains outweigh the risks?



42 REASONS WHY THE PRESENT VEHICLE STANDARDS ARE FEARFUL FOR SAFETY STANDARDS*

No. 205—Impact Protection for the Driver From the Steering Control System Specifies requirements for minimizing chest, neck and facial injuries by providing steering systems that yield forward, cushioning the impact of the driver's chest by absorbing much of his or her impact energy in front-end crashes. Such systems are highly effective in reducing the likelihood of serious and fatal injuries.

No. 208—Seat Belt Assemblies Specifies requirements for seat belt assemblies. The requirements apply to straps, webbing, similar material, as well as to all necessary buckles and other fasteners and all hardware designed for installing the assembly in a motor vehicle, and to the installation, use, and maintenance instructions for the assembly.

No. 209—Occupant Crash Protection This standard specifies requirements for both active and passive occupant crash protection systems for passenger cars, multipurpose passenger vehicles, trucks, and the driver's seat in buses. Generally, the following options are permitted:

- **Passenger Cars**
a. Lap or lap and shoulder seat belt assemblies in each designated seating position, except in convertibles, lap and shoulder seat belts are required in each front outboard seating position.
- **Passenger Cars**
a. A complete passive protection system, or
b. Lap belts with belt warning and meeting certain crash protection requirements specified for a 35-mph frontal crash, or
c. In each designated seating position a lap or lap and shoulder seat belt assembly with seat belt warning, and a rearward-facing outboard designated seating position must have a single-point prohibition release and emergency-locking or automatic-locking seat belt retractors.
- **Passenger Cars**
Same requirements as for passenger cars effective 11/22 except that the upper torso restraint must adjust by means of an emergency-locking retractant.

No. 124—Accelerator Control Systems Establishes requirements for the return of a vehicle throttle to the idle position when the driver removes his or her foot from the accelerator control, or in the event of a leverage or disconnection in the accelerator control system.

No. 201—Occupant Protection in Interior Impact Over a wide range of impact speeds, high-impact forces are largely determined by how well the structures on the inside of the vehicle cushion the human body hitting them. This standard specifies requirements to afford impact protection for occupants. It contains requirements for padded instrument panels, seat backs, arm rests, armrests, floor-mounted controls are required to remain closed during a crash.

No. 125—Warning Devices Establishes shape, size and performance requirements for reusable day and night warning devices that can be erected on or near the roadway to warn approaching motorists of the presence of a stopped vehicle. It applies only to devices that do not have self-contained energy sources.

No. 202—Head Restraints Specifies requirements for head restraints to reduce the frequency and severity of neck injuries in rear-end and other collisions.

No. 212—Windshield Mounting This standard requires that, when tested as described, each windshield mounting must be anchored in place and retain one of two specified percentages of its periphery in a crash situation. The purpose of the standard is to retain the windshield within the confines of the passenger compartment during a crash.

No. 206—Glazing Materials Specifies requirements for all glazing materials used in windshields, windows and interior partitions of motor vehicles. Its purpose is to reduce the likelihood of lacerations and to minimize the possibility of occupants preheating the windshield in collisions.

No. 210—Seat Belt Assembly Anchorage Specifies the requirements for seat belt assembly anchorage to ensure effective occupant restraint and to reduce the likelihood of failure in collisions.

No. 110—Windshield Defroster and Defogging Systems Requires that all vehicles manufactured for sale in the continental United States be equipped with windshield defrosters and defogging systems. Test conditions are also specified for passenger cars.

No. 170—Consumer Information Regulation Requires manufacturers to provide the following information to first purchasers:

- **Vehicle stopping distance.** Manufacturers of passenger cars and motorcycles must provide information on stopping distance at specified speeds under various conditions.
- **Uniform tire quality grading standards.** Manufacturers of passenger cars, trucks, and motorcycles must provide information on tread life, traction, and temperature resistance. The grades are displayed on the sidewall of the tire, on a label, and on a leaflet available at the dealer's store. All tires manufactured after April 1, 1980 are graded.

No. 113—Windshield Edge Intrusion The purpose of this standard is to reduce crash injuries and fatalities that result from occupants contacting vehicle components displaced near or through the windshield. The standard regulates the intrusion of vehicle parts from outside the occupant compartment into a defined space in front of the windshield during a frontal barrier crash test.

No. 302—Flammability of Interior Materials This standard specifies burn resistance requirements for materials used in the occupant compartment of motor vehicles in order to reduce deaths and injuries caused by vehicle fires.

No. 214—Tire Identification and Record Keeping Applies to manufacturers, brand name owners, retailers, and distributors and dealers of new and retread tires for use on motor vehicles, and to manufacturers and dealers of motor vehicles. It requires identification, and recording and reporting of names of tire purchasers.

No. 100—New Pneumatic Tire Specifies tire dimensions and laboratory test requirements for load carrying resistance, strength, endurance, and high-speed performance. Defines tire load rating, and specifies labeling requirements.

No. 213—Child Seating Systems Specifies requirements for dynamic testing of child seating systems to minimize the likelihood of injury and death to children in vehicle crashes or sudden stops. Includes requirements for testing information for proper installation and use.

No. 104—Windshield Wiping and Washing Systems Specifies the windshield area to be wiped and requires high-performance wipers, wiper blades, and power-operated wipers. The wipers must be able to sweep the windshield in least 45 seconds, regardless of engine load. Tables prescribing the minimum size of wiped areas have been added for passenger cars.

No. 301—Fuel System Integrity This standard specifies requirements for the integrity and severity of the entire fuel system, including the fuel tanks, fuel pump, carburetor, emission control systems, and connections in seven front, rear, or lateral barrier impact crash tests. Manufacturers must also be able to demonstrate that fuel lines will not exceed one ounce per minute in a static release test following these barrier crash tests, as well as not exceeding these limits after, and involved in, the crash tests.

No. 306—Brake System For the duration of the test, manufacturers of motor vehicles and motor vehicle equipment (except tires) to which a motor vehicle safety standard applies to identify any lacerations and descriptions of the items they produce to the Department of Transportation. Revised information is also required when necessary to keep the very current.

No. 106—Brake Shoes This standard establishes performance and labeling requirements for hydraulic, air, and vacuum-brake shoes, brake shoe assemblies, and brake shoe linings for all motor vehicles.

No. 216—Rear Crash Resistance Sets minimum strength requirements for passenger car roofs to reduce the likelihood of roof collapse in a rollover accident. The standard provides an alternative to conforming with the rollover tests of Standard No. 218.

No. 270—Vehicle in Use Inspection Standards Specifies procedures for the inspection of hydraulic service brake systems, steering and suspension systems, and tire and wheel assemblies of motor vehicles in use. It is intended to be implemented by the States with respect to the inspection of motor vehicles with gross vehicle weight ratings of 10,000 lbs. or less, except motorcycles and trailers.

No. 114—Tire Protection This standard requires that each passenger car have a key-tying system that whenever the key is removed prevents normal operation of the car's engine and also prevents either steering or self-mobility of the car, as both.

No. 206—Door Locks and Door Retention Components Requires locking systems and specifications and requirements for door latches and door latch systems to minimize the probability of occupant being thrown from the vehicle as a result of forces encountered in vehicle impact.

No. 118—Hood Latch Systems Specifies requirements for a hood latch system for each hood. From opening hood which is an open position partially closed, the hood must be capable of being viewed through the windshield must be provided with a second latch position on the hood latch system or with a second hood latch system.

No. 307—Certification Regulation This part specifies the content and location of and other requirements for the tag to be affixed in motor vehicles and motor vehicle equipment manufactured after August 31, 1969. This certificate will provide the consumer with information to assist him or her in determining which of the Federal Motor Vehicle Safety Standards are applicable to the vehicle or equipment, and its date of manufacture. An amendment (effective January 1, 1977) requires Gross Vehicle Weight Information on the Certification label.

No. 116—Hydraulic Brake Fluids Requires minimum physical characteristics for three grades of brake fluids, DOT 3, DOT 4 and DOT 6. For use in hydraulic brake systems in all motor vehicles. Also establishes labeling requirements for brake fluid and hydraulic system material.

No. 108—Lamps, Reflective Devices, and Associated Equipment This standard specifies requirements for lamps, reflective devices, and associated equipment for signaling and to enable safe operation in darkness and other conditions of reduced visibility. Side marker lights and reflectors, hazard warning and backup lights, and replacement equipment are included in the requirements for these vehicles.

No. 115—Vehicle Identification Number Specifies requirements for the format and form of a number to facilitate identification of a vehicle and must be permanently affixed to the vehicle.

No. 119—New Pneumatic Tire Specifies requirements, endurance, and high-speed performance and marking requirements for new pneumatic tires manufactured for use on multipurpose passenger vehicles, trucks, trailers, buses, and motorcycles.

No. 101—Controls and Display Requires that essential controls be located within reach of the driver when the driver is restrained by a seat belt and upper torso restraint, and that certain controls mounted on the instrument panel be identified.

No. 281—Bumper Standard—Limited Damage This standard specifies limitations on damage to non-safety-related components and vehicle sub-frame areas. It also incorporates the requirements previously contained in Safety Standard No. 215.

Vehicles manufactured after September 1, 1975 must also be certified as conforming to the bumper standard required by the Ford Bumper Act. This requirement has been incorporated into 49 CFR 565.

No. 214—Side Door Strength This standard specifies requirements for crash resistance levels in side doors of passenger cars to minimize the safety hazard caused by intrusion into the passenger compartment in a side impact accident.

No. 111—Rearview Mirrors Specifies requirements for rearview mirrors to provide the driver with a clear and unobstructed view of the rear. On passenger cars it requires an outside rearview mirror on the driver's side, and when the inside mirror does not provide a sufficient field of view because of the size or location of the rear window, an additional outside mirror on the passenger side is required. Also, the inside mirror must be designed to reduce the likelihood of injury on impact. Trucks and buses must have mirrors on both sides.

No. 207—Seating Systems Establishes requirements for seats, their attachment assemblies, and their installation, to minimize the possibility of failure as a result of forces acting on the seat in vehicle impact.

No. 211—Wheel Nuts, Wheel Discs, and Hub Caps Requires that "spinners" hub-caps and other winged projections (both functional and nonfunctional) be removed from wheel nuts, wheel discs, and hub caps. Its purpose is to eliminate a potential hazard to pedestrians and cyclists.

No. 107—Reflecting Surfaces The reflection of the sun into the driver's face from shiny, uniform, having been a safety hazard. This standard requires that windshield wiper arms, inside windshield moldings, turn rings, and frames and brackets of inside rearview mirrors have matte surfaces which will greatly reduce the likelihood of hazardous reflection into the driver's eyes.

No. 105—Hydraulic Brake System Requires motor vehicles utilizing hydraulic brakes to have a brake system, incorporating service and emergency features that are capable of stopping the vehicle under certain specified conditions, a parking brake system capable of holding vehicles on a 20 percent grade and heavy vehicles on a 30 percent grade, and a warning light system to indicate loss of pressure or low fluid level, anti-lock system failure, and parking brake application.

No. 272—Accelerometer Test Dummy This regulation describes the 100 percent male anthropomorphic test dummy that is to be used for testing of motor vehicles for compliance with motor vehicle safety standards. The design and performance criteria specified are intended to describe a measuring tool with sufficient precision to give repetitive and reproducible results under similar test conditions and to reflect adequately the protective performance of a vehicle with respect to human occupants. It is designed to be referenced by and become a part of the test procedures specified in motor vehicle safety standards such as Standard No. 208, Occupant Crash Protection.

No. 110—Tire Selection and Rims Specifies requirements for original equipment tire and rim selection on new cars in present overloading. These include planned requirements relating to load distribution as well as rim performance requirements under conditions of tire deflation.

No. 204—Steering Control Rearward Displacement Specifies requirements for the rearward displacement of the steering column into the passenger compartment to reduce the likelihood of chest, neck, or head injuries.

No. 102—Transmission Shift Lever Sequence, Starter Interlock and Transmission Braking Effect Requires that the automatic transmission shift lever sequence have the neutral position placed between forward and reverse drive positions. Its purpose is to reduce the likelihood of an error in shifting the vehicle into an incorrect position to prevent starting the vehicle in reverse and forward drive positions and an engine-backing effect in use of the lower gears at vehicle speeds near or below 10 mph.

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How to Follow the Talks

Is your mind reeling from all the claims and counterclaims? What's really going on in the peace process? Here's a guide to help sort it out.



ROAD TO ????

Madrid was the easy part. Delegates had only to stake out a position, not cede an inch of ground. The course toward peace is pockmarked with sandpits, potholes and booby traps. If you plan to stay tuned, be ready for a long, long siege, marked by proclamations of self-sacrifice and ritualistic outbursts of indignation. And be wary of the press leaks of success/failure that are sure to follow. Any real bargaining will be behind closed doors, and the only reliable evidence of progress will be public statements of mutual commitment.



PALESTINIANS: This group, more a coalition than a team, calls Jerusalemite **Faisal al-Husseini** the "head of the delegation," though Dr. Haidar Abdul-Shafi is the group's formal leader. And behind them still is P.L.O. Chairman Yasser Arafat.

SYRIA: The toughest guys at the talks. Although English-speaking Foreign Minister Farouk al-Sharaa is the front man, make no mistake: President **Hafez Assad** will be calling the shots—and the other Arabs will listen.

ISRAEL: **Yitzhak** ("Not One Inch") **Shamir** is the hard-line leader of a solidly hard-line team. But Deputy Foreign Minister Benjamin ("Nightline") Netanyahu, who speaks perfect American, can put the velvet spin on Israel's positions.



U.S.: President **Bush** insists that he will be a "catalyst," not an imposer of solutions. But if he and James Baker do not provide concrete proposals that enable the parties to make incremental concessions, talks will stall—and they may feel some heat for the failure.

PARTY LINES

In Madrid the delegates presented very tough—and very familiar—opening positions:

Palestinians: Want an independent state, in confederation with Jordan, with East Jerusalem as its capital. But coming into the conference, they have dropped their long-standing refusal to accept self-rule over daily affairs in the West Bank and Gaza as a first step. As an immediate sign of good faith, they want a freeze on Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. They have vowed to stick out the talks.

Syria: The most truculent—wants Israel to cede "every inch of Arab land occupied by the Israelis by war and force," particularly the Golan Heights, in return for a state of nonbelligerence. Damascus refuses to participate in regional talks until Israel demonstrates a willingness to return occupied territory. Assad has vowed to strike no separate deals with Israel, and is exhorting other Arab delegations to take the same position.

Lebanon: Wants Israel to withdraw its forces from its self-proclaimed "security zone" in southern Lebanon, dissolve its proxy militia, the South Lebanon Army, and release some 300 Arab prisoners.

Jordan: Wants a settlement for the Palestinians in the West Bank so they do not wind up staking their homeland on the East Bank in Jordan. It also would like to reach a comprehensive agreement on water-sharing rights.

Israel: Wants peace treaties without giving back any occupied land. Shamir has made the future of Jerusalem non-negotiable and has ruled out a freeze on settlements and withdrawal from all occupied territories. But Israel is ready to adopt an interim five-year plan that would grant Palestinians limited self-rule while maintaining control of the land, security arrangements and foreign affairs. Could bolt if it feels overly pressured.

Real bargaining has to begin somewhere. Where to look:

Palestinians: The U.S. is prodding them to suspend the *intifadeh* in exchange for a freeze of Jewish settlements. Shamir has already rejected such a scheme, but might find it hard to resist if international pressure mounts. To get around the impasse, the Palestinians might agree to a joint authority, with Israel, to control public lands in the occupied territories while the talks continue. That would give Palestinians a temporary—but not permanent—veto over new settlements.

Syria: Might be persuaded to reduce its armed presence in Lebanon, provided Israel does the same. Numerous plans for demilitarizing the Golan Heights exist that could give de jure sovereignty back to Syria but leave real control of the Golan in the hands of international peacekeepers.

Israel: Might consider demilitarizing portions of the Golan Heights if the U.S. provides sufficient security guarantees. If pressure at home and abroad grows strong enough, even Shamir might be forced to halt settlements to keep the talks going. In Lebanon a precondition for withdrawal would be the disarmament of remaining local militias.





Middle East sands have yet to shift. Still, there are reasons to hope:

The moderate east of the **Palestinian** delegation—its members are highly educated, professional, nonrhetorical—suggests seriousness about carving out some sort of self-government, perhaps short of an independent state. Arafat has stated, "Anything these Palestinian leaders accept, I will accept."

Without Moscow as a patron, **Syria** desperately needs Western trade and investment to rebuild its economy and may bend so as not to alienate Washington.

The **Saudi** presence at Madrid was a pleasant surprise. Normally they stay home if the outcome of a meeting is in doubt.

Bush declined to prescribe any settlement, giving the U.S. maximum maneuvering room for avoiding showdowns. But he did set a useful deadline for "interim self-government" by the Palestinians to be achieved within a year.

STUMBLING BLOCKS

THE REAL GAP is in attitude: each party comes with a deep reservoir of distrust. Few Arabs or Israelis believe that the talks will succeed.

LOCATION could sabotage the talks early on. Israel wants them to alternate between Israel and the Arab states as a form of de facto mutual recognition. Syria wants to stay in Madrid to emphasize the international umbrella. Palestinians veto the occupied territories, while Jerusalem rules out East Jerusalem.

JEWISH SETTLEMENTS rising in the occupied territories could be the first pivotal issue. Both the Arabs and the U.S. consider a halt to new building essential as a sign of good faith. Shamir is determined not to yield, but might eventually be cajoled to accept a freeze as a lever for extracting larger Arab concessions.

THE \$10 BILLION LOAN GUARANTEES that Israel expects from Washington come January to help resettle Soviet Jews could play a key role. The U.S. has linked the money to a halt in new settlements. The Arabs see the decision as a barometer of U.S. willingness to pressure Israel.

ELECTIONS in the U.S. and Israel could put negotiations on hold until both are completed in November 1992.

And They're Off. They came. They saw. They conquered their mutual repulsion long enough to sit down together. They accepted the T-shaped table configuration, seating assignments, speaking times without much fuss. No one stormed out over procedures.

Still Too Far to Go. What you did not see between the Arabs and Israelis: a formal handshake. A smile. A greeting in the other's language. Eye contact. The sharing of a meal. An exchange of gifts. The display of national flags. The playing of national anthems.

Nuance Counts, but Not Too Much. Analysts made much of it when an Israeli functionary gave copier paper to the Palestinian delegation, and the Jordanians lent a hammer to the Israelis. But constant temperature taking can lead to wrong conclusions.

The Grand Gesture. Israelis yearn for another Sadat, who will break the psychological barrier between Arabs and Jews with a grand gesture like the Egyptian's 1977 visit to Jerusalem. But there were very few visionaries among the tough pragmatists.

THE HOST WITH THE MOST

The U.S. is plainly the sponsor that counts. All parties believe that no real progress can be made without continued pressure, prodding and prompting from Washington. A recent report by the U.S. Institute of Peace concluded, "Only when the President is active . . . do the parties take a U.S. mediation effort seriously." Is Bush up to that? His aides are already sweating bullets over falling polls that say the President spends too much time on foreign affairs while America rots. The U.S. strategy: remain attentive and hope that the mere act of talking will create a chemistry for compromise among enemies.

FELLOW TRAVELER

Though technically a co-sponsor of the peace talks, Gorbachev could do little better than bask in Bush's reflected glory. Moscow's role was largely played when it urged Syria to the bargaining table. Still, the Soviets might get some useful trade and keep a toe on the world stage.

BUZZ WORDS

LAND FOR PEACE

The basic trade, enshrined in the purposefully vague U.N. Resolution 242, endorsed by the U.S.

Palestinians: Give us an independent homeland, we'll stop throwing rocks.

Syria: Give us the Golan Heights, we'll pretend not to hate you.

Israel: We already gave land—Sinai in 1982. Now give us peace.

TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE

Variation on land for peace, the favored option of the mainstream Israeli left: we'll give back some land, but never return to the insecure pre-1967 borders.

COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT

Arabs: No separate, bilateral agreements, as happened at Camp David.

Israel: Comprehensive? Sure. But one bilateral step at a time.

AUTONOMY

Common usage: A way station between continued Israeli occupation and Palestinian independence. **Palestinians:** A sellout of their interests.

Israel: A gradual recognition of the rights of individual Palestinians. Cynics' translation: "Local authority over how many goats can be raised per hectare."

INTERIM AUTHORITY

Common usage: Something more than autonomy but less than a Palestinian state.

Palestinians: A large degree of self-rule that includes control over land, legislation and water resources and a reduced Israeli security presence.

Israel: Houseguests with improved bathroom and kitchen privileges.

U.S.: An unspecified measure of control over economic and political decisions.

HONEST BROKER

Arabs: A U.S. interlocutor who pressures Israel.

Israel: A U.S. mediator who serves as a partner.

—By Jill Smolowe. Reported by Lisa Beyer and J.F.O. McAllister/Madrid

OFFICE POLICY.



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America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

Now for a Moscow Peace Conference . . .

When Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush met in Madrid last week, they had plenty to talk about but little business to transact. It is no longer clear what authority Gorbachev has to enter into international agreements, or even what the constitutional procedure is for ratifying the strategic-arms-reduction treaty the two Presidents signed last July. That was barely three months ago, but it was, as they say in Moscow, B.C.—before the coup. Since then, with the rapid disintegration of the U.S.S.R., the very term Soviet leader has become something of an oxymoron. So has Soviet Union.

Two weeks ago, the vice president of the Russian Federation, Alexander Rutskoi, quietly informed U.S. Ambassador Robert Strauss about an early version of a speech that had been prepared for Boris Yeltsin to deliver last Monday, on the eve of Gorbachev's departure for Madrid. The draft declared the U.S.S.R. defunct and Yeltsin's government the protector of 25 million ethnic Russians in the outlying republics.

That message would have intensified fears that resurgent Russian imperialism would fill the vacuum left by the collapse of Soviet power. Under the pretext of "protecting" their ethnic kinsmen, some Russian nationalists might try to seize other republics' territory. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the head of the spectacularly misnamed Liberal Democratic Party, has even made claims against Poland and Finland on the grounds that they once belonged to the Czars. You're not likely to dismiss Zhirinovskiy as a nut case if you're a Pole, a Finn—or one of the 6 million Russians who voted for him in the republic's presidential election last June.

Strauss notified Washington about what Yeltsin might say, and Bush fired back instructions for him to register official American concern with Rutskoi and Yeltsin's foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev—in effect, an appeal to make the speech less provocative. In the version Yeltsin finally delivered, he announced a new round of radical economic reforms, virtually dissolved most of the Soviet ministries and nominated himself to the vacant post of Russian prime minister. But he stopped just short of proclaiming Russia the successor state to the U.S.S.R., effective immediately.

The situation in the former Soviet Union is the most dangerous in the world today, much more so than the one in the Middle East. In fact, it was precisely the late, unlamented U.S.-Soviet rivalry that invested the Arab-Israeli conflict with its greatest peril. As long as the two armed camps each had a glowering superpower at its back, a regional crisis could escalate to global conflagration. The end of the cold war has made progress toward a peaceful settlement more imaginable but also, in

one sense, less crucial. While there is every reason to hope for success in the new round of talks, it is comforting to know that if failure there leads to another Middle East war, U.S. and Soviet nuclear forces will not go on alert against each other.

The bad news is that the U.S.S.R., paradoxically, poses a greater threat to world peace in its present divided and weakened condition than it did, not so long ago, when it seemed so strong and monolithic. Throughout the '70s and most of the '80s, the Soviet Union was what political scientists call a "rational actor," a single entity with a clearly identified central leadership and a predictable, if often disagreeable, pattern of behavior. Sharing the planet with Leonid Brezhnev was no fun, but the West knew that by dealing with him, it could manage its relations with a nation of 280 million.

Now, instead of concentrating on one man in the Kremlin, the outside world must open channels to a multiplicity of actors, not all of them rational.

Gorbachev would obviously prefer presiding over the largest country on earth to becoming the custodian of little more than a drafty fortress on the banks of the Moscow River. His friend Bush would rather have one phone number in his Rolodex than a dozen.

But it is too late for that. The incredible has become the inevitable. The Baltic states are gone;

Ukraine and several other republics are going, and there is probably no stopping them. What one of Gorbachev's advisers, Yevgeni Primakov, calls a "unified economic space" is a lost cause, at least during the coming phase. The U.S.S.R. is, and always has been, a unified economic disaster area, and that, not ethnicity, is the main reason so many of those 280 million people want out. The U.S.S.R. has to go much further in falling apart before the pieces will have the incentive to reconstitute themselves as a loose confederation or commonwealth.

But while the dismantling of the old structure is irreversible, it need not—indeed, must not—be precipitous. Imagine a civil war like the one in Yugoslavia, only played out across 11 time zones, with the Russians in the role of the Serbs and nuclear weapons in the background. Yeltsin can help avert such a horror by reassuring Russia's neighbors both inside and outside the old U.S.S.R. that independence won't unleash the forces of tribalism and irredentism.

Gorbachev, diminished as he is, has his own important contribution still to make. Using what is left of his office, he can supervise an open-ended negotiation over territory, borders, security and the rights of minorities. Sounds familiar, doesn't it? That's why Gorbachev's experience in Madrid last week may come in handy at home.



With Gorbachev in Madrid last week: Bush now needs a larger Rolodex

NATO

"Au Revoir, U.S."?

Europe weighs new military formations, raising questions about the future of the Atlantic partnership

By BRUCE W. NELAN

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, its members boast, is the most successful alliance ever. It deterred the predatory Soviet Union, won the cold war without firing a shot, and gave Europe its longest peace in this century. On the principle of not fixing things that are not broken, the Western allies could be expected to leave well enough alone now that the Soviet threat has ebbed. They are cutting back their armed forces and military spending, of course, but they might be wise to maintain the structures that served them so well.

In speeches and documents at this week's NATO summit in Rome, the 16 member heads of state and government will reaffirm their faith in the alliance and approve an updated Strategic Concept that has been in the making for more than a year. That 50-page policy statement calls for smaller, more mobile forces in Europe and for keeping NATO's multinational military command intact.

But behind this carefully constructed united front, a fundamental debate has erupted that could bring the entire U.S. presence in Europe into question. The allies are wrangling over how to produce a separate "European defense identity." In practice, that means the creation of purely European military units and raises the questions of how they should be linked to the U.S. and the alliance as a whole, and what would happen to the U.S. units on the Continent. Onlookers on both sides of the Atlantic wonder whether Europe is preparing to say au revoir to the U.S.—or if that is the way it might look to the Americans.

All the European leaders insist it means no such thing. They repeat that they still consider NATO, with the U.S. fully engaged, as indispensable to their security. But their growing disagreements about the future shape of the alliance are now out in the open. The purported locus of their dis-



Reduction in force: American troops head home from their base in Zweibrücken, Germany

cussion is military, but the substance has become highly political. As the 12 nations of the European Community move closer together, its members are speaking up in NATO councils in favor of their own separate security identity to defend their Continent. A Bonn official explains that European economic and political unity logically implies a common foreign policy. And, he argues, "foreign policy without defense policy just does not exist."

So the Germans last month allowed the French to talk them into proposing a future European army to be directed by the Western European Union, whose nine member states also belong to NATO. Despite that potentially divisive effort, the French keep saying the politically correct things about the importance of the Atlantic alliance. Foreign Minister Roland Dumas last week called it "the primary instrument at the present time for Europe's security." But ever since President Charles de Gaulle pulled his troops out of NATO's integrated command in 1966, Paris has been trying to undercut American influence on the Continent. "NATO remains America's anchor in

Europe," says Philippe Moreau-Defargues of the French Institute of International Relations, "but it cannot be the structure for Europe's future."

Before the Franco-German challenge, Britain and Italy had offered a different plan. Let Europeans create a joint military force, London and Rome suggested, but only for use in emergencies outside the NATO area, like the gulf war. The essential difference is that the French want to turn the WEU into the military wing of the European Community, while the British and Italians see it as firmly linked to NATO.

The U.S., meanwhile, is being resolutely understanding, bent on preserving NATO as a key to influence in Europe. "France's independent stance is something we have lived with for a long time," says William H. Taft, the American ambassador to NATO. "In these times," a senior State Department official adds, "the U.S. must convey an image of stability, confidence and steadfastness."

Washington's unflappability is reinforced by its private view that the proposal

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for a Euroarmy is feasible only in the very long term if at all—and constitutes no present threat to NATO. In London, U.S. Ambassador Raymond Seitz said that the U.S. was "comfortable with the concept of a European defense identity" as long as it was not designed as an alternative to the Atlantic alliance. American officials predict that the Rome summit will confirm this attitude by accepting no changes in the traditional course.

The summiters will also have to cope with the problem of how best to lend aid and comfort to NATO's former enemies of the Warsaw Pact, who are worried about the instabilities of Central and Eastern Europe. The states of Central Europe, whose Brussels embassies are already in liaison with NATO headquarters, will not be offered membership in the alliance itself. Instead the summit will invite them to join a newly created North Atlantic Cooperation Council. Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall acknowledged last week that full NATO membership for his country was "unrealistic," but he and the other Central European leaders are still hoping to get a solid security guarantee.

But security against what, exactly? Though there are still almost 4 million troops and thousands of nuclear warheads in the former Soviet Union, the danger of a massive sweep westward is nil. More credible threats lurk in possible ethnic violence, border violations and mass migrations of refugees. Instability and uncertainty are the enemies NATO must guard against. In these circumstances, says Colonel Andrew Duncan, assistant director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, "it is difficult to justify NATO on the scale it is today." What is needed is "some sort of military-political organization based on NATO with both an American and a European pillar."

Dedicated Atlanticists in Europe believe that the U.S. pillar will be vital to their security for years to come. Some are concerned that traditional American isolationism may rise as the cold-war sense of danger recedes and Europeans become more independent. So far, alliance leaders remain confident that that is not happening. "As in the past," says Italian Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis, "this isolationist mood will remain in the minority."

If American isolationism does begin to percolate along with concerns about the country's domestic needs—especially in the coming election year—it is likely to be toned down by the steady reduction of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons in Europe. American forces there are already down to 260,000, from 320,000 in 1990, and could go as low as 150,000 by the end of 1995. That will make NATO cheaper and less controversial. But nothing has yet been devised to make the alliance dispensable.

—Reported by Daniel Benjamin/
Bonn and Bruce van Voorst/Washington, with
other bureaus

JAPAN

In This Corner: Miyazawa

Japan's new Prime Minister talks like an American—direct, open and in English. That just may be a problem.

Kiichi Miyazawa was 19 when he made his first trip to America. It was 1939, and tensions between Japan and the U.S. were running high, but the traveler liked what he saw. "My first impression of my American friends was that they were so free, so dynamic, so spontaneous," recalls Miyazawa. "The American boys and girls were their own masters. I was so impressed."

As a young official in the Ministry of Finance after the war, Miyazawa often negotiated with American occupation forces, and during his next four decades of government service, he befriended a string of

Miyazawa's talk on trade remains blunt. The U.S. deficit with Japan has declined from a peak of \$57 billion in 1987 to \$41.1 billion in 1990, and Miyazawa credits both nations with engineering the impressive 28% drop. But he says that shrinking the gap further will be difficult because the U.S. economy has become overly dependent on Japanese imports. "The U.S. could buy less from Japan and more from the European Community," he says, "and American industry should step up its efforts to be more competitive."

Miyazawa's outspokenness might lead some to call him anti-American. But while

"The U.S. could buy less from Japan and more from Europe, and American industry should step up its efforts to be more competitive."

The newly elected party president automatically becomes Prime Minister



prominent Americans such as Henry Kissinger and David Rockefeller.

Does all that mean that when Miyazawa takes over as Prime Minister of Japan this week, the U.S. can look forward to a new era of warm and cordial relations?

Not necessarily. Yes, Miyazawa is extraordinarily fond of America and has an elegant command of English. But he is also a tough negotiator with firmly held convictions. He speaks his mind. Unlike many of his less sophisticated predecessors, he will not bow silently to pressure from Washington. "He is ready to be critical of unreasonable demands," says Seizaburo Sato, a political scientist at the University of Tokyo. As Trade Minister in 1970, Miyazawa broke off talks over a textile agreement because he felt the U.S. was demanding too much. His successor completed the deal—by giving Washington exactly what it wanted.

he may be tough on trade issues, he firmly believes that "Japan's alliance with the U.S. must be strengthened." He is willing to have Tokyo pay more of the cost of basing U.S. forces in Japan; he is eager to cooperate with Washington on diplomatic issues, such as Third World debt or U.N. peacekeeping operations. But he will insist that Japan be treated as a full partner in any joint effort and not merely be sent the bill afterward.

The new Prime Minister is unlikely to change the course of U.S.-Japanese relations in a dramatic way. His basic political philosophy, after all, is much the same as that of previous leaders. But the language and tone of the debates between Tokyo and Washington will surely become sharper—whether or not that increased candor is helpful.

—By Barry Hillenbrand/
Tokyo

WORLD NOTES

ZAMBIA

Kaunda Kayoed

In the country's first multiparty election since 1968, voters emphatically rejected founding father Kenneth Kaunda in a landslide for the opposition. Kaunda, 67, had been President since Zambia gained independence from Britain in 1964 and led black Africa against apartheid. But his authoritarian rule and economic mismanagement led to riots and an aborted coup last year that forced him to legalize rival parties.

The new President is Frederick Chiluba, 48, chairman of the 300,000-member Zambia Congress of Trade Unions. He campaigned on a platform of democracy and human rights, vowing to replace the bankrupt socialist economy with a free market. At election rallies he demanded of supporters, "Are you ready to sweat for Zambia?" His answer came in the form of 80% of the votes cast.

Kaunda's people would have preferred him to step down gracefully instead of fighting to the bitter end. But Kaunda's lasting legacy may be the election itself. By accepting the results of a free, hard-fought contest, he provided a democratic model for the rest of a continent still dominated by one-party dictatorships. ■



Disturbing His Peace

No wonder Vladimir Lenin looks pensive in this rare close-up taken in his tomb. It's bad enough that his eponymous city is St. Petersburg again, that statues of him are toppling everywhere and that the country he hammered together is falling apart. Now there are even threats to remove his embalmed remains from the Red Square Mausoleum, where they have lain in state since 1924.

POLAND

No Voters, No Victor



Walesa voting in Gdansk

It was hardly surprising that, facing a dauntingly complex ballot, almost 57% of the electorate failed to vote last week in Poland's first free parliamentary elections since World War II. Even more frustrated by the country's failure to achieve postcommunist prosperity, those who did go to the polls chose no clear victor and no clear course for the nation: 29 parties will be represented in Poland's 460-seat lower house, and none will have more than 62 seats.

With little prospect that any coalition can form a dura-

ble majority, President Lech Walesa proposed doubling his duties by becoming his own Prime Minister. Though such an arrangement seemed to flout the spirit of Poland's constitution, no one else appeared eager to take on the job of leading the country's painful reconstruction. Walesa's bold but troubling suggestion, wisecracked one critic, at least offered the possibility of a government "able to count on the full loyalty of the President." But whoever winds up with the job has little hope of finding a painless route to economic reform. ■

VIETNAM

Heading for Home?

In the past 16 years 63,000 boat people have fled Vietnam to seek asylum in Hong Kong. Unable to accommodate them in overcrowded detention centers, the colony wants to send back all who do not qualify as bona fide refugees under U.N. guidelines. Last week, after two years of negotiations, Britain and Vietnam signed a statement of understanding in which Hanoi agreed to the return of nonpolitical refugees.

A key issue—whether or not force would be used in the

repatriation—has yet to be resolved. Hong Kong officials implied last week that coercion would be used if necessary, but the U.S. reiterated its longstanding objections. "We will do everything we can to encourage and enable people to return home with dignity," said Hong Kong Secretary for Security Alistair Asprey. "Whether they do so depends on their own behavior, which we cannot control." Some 11,000 Vietnamese have already been induced to return home voluntarily by the offer of cash payments totaling \$410 a person.

Those still left in the squalid camps—some have been there for more than five years—have made it clear they will not go

peaceably, and have even threatened suicide. "If armed police enter the camp to force us back," said a refugee leader

last week, "we will tie our hands and legs together so we are unified, and we will kill ourselves." ■



In distress: boat people in Hong Kong protest deportation

Business

VERSACE

V2 black-and-white-check jacket: \$545

collection jacket: \$1,670

UNGARO

Emanuel white sequin dress: \$698

collection dress: \$2,540



FASHION

Why Chic Is Now Cheaper

Big-name clothing designers are moving down-market to court price-conscious customers. But not everyone wins.

By BARBARA RUDOLPH

Giorgio Armani. The name defines chic. Luxurious fabrics, exquisite craftsmanship, elegant design—that's the Armani that customers love and competitors fear. So what is this upscale Italian designer doing peddling cotton T shirts and blue jeans? Quite simply, he is trying to make money like everybody else—by reaching the millions of American men who cannot afford his \$1,875 suits and the women who can only admire his \$1,800 dresses on department-store racks. In December the designer will market a line of casual clothes bearing an Armani Jeans label—chambray

shirts, denim jackets, linen blouses. Nothing fancy. More than three-quarters of the items will cost less than \$100.

Armani is only the latest designer to enter a clothing market that is rapidly coming to realize that nobody wants to spend real money on clothes these days. U.S. retail sales are depressed, and Christmas sales will probably be flat—at best. The picture looks no prettier in Europe. In fashion-conscious Italy, for example, apparel sales are expected to decline 12% in 1991. The one striking exception seems to prove the rule: in the U.S., sales at the Gap, purveyor of \$19 cotton turtlenecks and \$28.50 sweat pants, are running 30% above last year's.

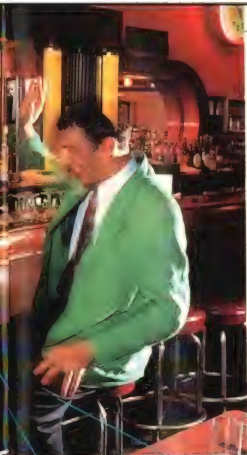
KORS

KORS yellow leather motorcycle jacket: \$655

collection coat: \$2,200

"Everyone is thinking about less expensive clothes," says Calvin Klein. "We're all doing it." While the designer-collection business is ailing, if not dying, moderately priced second collections, known in the trade as bridge lines and costing about half as much as top-of-line labels, still sell. Armani is betting that a whole chain of boutiques—to be called A/X Armani Exchange—can capture \$60 million in sales next year from this miniboom in cheap chic. A/X units will open in department and specialty stores across the U.S. in March.

It was the surprise success of Donna Karan's DKNY that inspired the industry. Selling such staples as \$90 cotton poplin blouses and \$365 navy wool blazers, DKNY last year hit \$100 million in sales and should reach \$140 million this year. Launched less than three years ago, the company is proving to be the salvation of Seventh Avenue. Clothing designers, like businessmen everywhere, tend to fall all over a winning formula, and store racks are groaning with DKNY wannabes. "I call our rivals the Pac-Men," says DKNY's president, Denise Seegal. "They're all



KARAN
DKNY off-the-shoulder
jacket: \$455

collection jacket: \$1,200



VERSACE
V2 wool gabardine
pants: \$235

collection pants: \$550

ARMANI
Armani Jeans white
stretch pants: \$97 and
jacket: \$165

collection pants: \$515

ARMANI
Armani Jeans dark
green T shirt: \$28

collection T shirt: \$50

coming after us." This fall saw the launch of Company, a division of Ellen Tracy, whose best sellers include \$145 velvet tunics and \$255 stirrup pants, and of Anne Klein's A Line, which sold a passel of Lycra-blend stretch pants (\$215) and double-breasted blazers (\$365).

Other recent entries in the category include KORS from Michael Kors, which markets \$185 sarong skirts and \$105 chambray shirts. Kors anticipates that sales this year will reach \$15 million. Ungaro's Emanuel line includes a \$360 houndstooth dress and a \$195 gabardine skirt. Declares Ungaro: "A woman doesn't need a lot of money to be elegant. She can be chic with clothes bought from a supermarket chain." In the men's market, where the move toward lower-priced lines is less pronounced, second collections include Versace's V2 and Armani's Mani.

The bridge market in womens wear alone totals about \$1 billion at retail, more than twice what it was just three years ago. Predictably, department stores are devoting more space to second collections. At the new Manhattan outpost of Galeries

Lafayette, the French department-store chain, the shelves are stocked with French designers' second collections as well as more moderately priced labels such as Chantal Thomass and Lolita Lempicka. Bloomingdale's senior vice president Kal Ruttenstein reports that sales of the store's bridge lines are running 28% ahead of last year. Debt-laden retailers keenly appreciate that mark-downs on bridge clothes typically run around 30%, according to retailing consultant Howard Davidowitz, while designer mark-downs often hit 70%.

"In the late 1980s, women were into designer labels. That's not where it's at now, and we may never get back there," says Frank Mori, president of Takiyo, which owns Anne Klein and has a 50% stake in Donna Karan. "The days of selling clothes on the basis of brand name alone are over," says Ralph Toledano, president of Karl Lagerfeld.

Though the bridge market existed on a small scale during the 1970s, it really took root in the early 1980s with the launch of the Anne Klein II line, designed by a young Donna Karan and Louis Dell'Olio. Anne

Klein II, which found its niche selling career clothes just as professional women were entering the work force in large numbers, shared the spotlight with Ellen Tracy, an established line that was spruced up by designer Linda Allard.

The market hummed along at moderate speed until early 1989, when Donna Karan rewrote the rules by tapping into a powerful consumer demand that others had somehow failed to satisfy. DKNY offered stylish, sporty clothes at decent (though hardly bargain-basement) prices. It is now running neck and neck with Ellen Tracy, though DKNY is sold in 450 stores in the U.S., compared with 1,000 for Tracy. And DKNY has probably cut into the market share of Anne Klein II, whose sales have slipped from \$130 million in 1989 to an estimated \$110 million this year.

By all rights, Calvin Klein, one of the patron saints of American sportswear, should be cleaning up in this market. He was one of the first to launch a lower-priced collection: Classifications, first sold in 1983, was discontinued in 1988. These days, though, his lower-priced Calvin Klein

Sport division, which last year accounted for nearly 80% of all business at Calvin Klein, Inc., has been floundering. Company sales in 1990 fell to \$197 million, down from \$225 million in 1989. Even worse, the firm lost more than \$4 million and carries long-term debt of close to \$68 million.

The problem, competitors say, is that Calvin Klein Sport is known for jeans but little else. Klein hopes to change that. "What I'm doing now," he says, "is re-educating the line to sell in the bridge market." Says DKNY's Seegal: "It's the repositioning of the repositioning of the repositioning." Adds a competitor: "Calvin Klein is not a happy camper."

After Klein's launching a \$10 million ad campaign featuring model-actress Carré Otis, half-naked men and women, and lots of leather, business is picking up. At Bloom-

ingdale's, for instance, Calvin Klein Sport sales are running 30% ahead of last year's. Whether Klein can keep up the momentum remains to be seen.

Bridge lines are clearly the right response to the recession, but more than economic factors explain their success. The second collections, speculates *Vogue* editor in chief Anna Wintour, are in synch with the "breaking up of fashion," in her words. "Women are looking for things that are more their own," she says, "and less of a designer statement." In other words, fewer women feel the need to wear Armani or Karan or any label head to toe. They'll happily pair a Chanel jacket, say, with a DKNY skirt and not worry about getting reported to the fashion police.

In the apparel business, though, no trend lasts forever. "The bridge market has

already got crowded," says Peter Brown, a vice president at Kurt Salmon Associates, a New York consulting firm. A shakeout is probably coming, and soon.

Though many industry observers pronounce the high-priced-designer business dead and buried, others hold out hope that when the economy finally improves, the sector may get a new lease on life. "There will always be designer customers," says DKNY's Seegal, who has been wearing designer labels since she first splurged on Betsey Johnson as a high school student. "They're basically snobs. The feeling is, 'If I can afford a \$3,000 Chanel suit, it makes me stand out.' Are we going to do away with status? No." For now, however, those status seekers are playing it very close to the vest.

—With reporting by Jane Hager/Rome and Farah Nayeri/Paris

MEDIA

A \$1 Billion Pacific Alliance

Time Warner joins forces with Japan's Toshiba and C. Itoh in an ocean-spanning film and TV venture

In a deal that has been long anticipated, Time Warner Inc. last week wrapped up a partnership with electronics maker Toshiba and trading company C. Itoh. For \$1 billion, the Manhattan-based media giant, parent company of TIME, agreed to sell the two firms a combined 12½% stake in its movie, cable TV and Home Box Office operations.

The new venture, to be called Time Warner Entertainment, will take on \$7 billion of Time Warner's \$8.8 billion debt, which had been a concern to investors. Time Warner's book, magazine and music divisions will shoulder the remaining \$1.8 billion, after it is reduced by some or all of the proceeds from the deal. In a related transaction, Time Warner plans to acquire the 18% of its cable-TV subsidiary American Television and Communications that it does not already own in exchange for preferred stock that will be worth \$75 a share in three years.

While the immediate benefits of the alliance are financial, Time Warner executives have their eyes on improved access to Japanese markets and new technologies. "It's strictly strategic," chairman Steven Ross said of the deal. "The financial side comes along with it." Time Warner expects its new partners to help it quadruple the approximately \$175 million in annual film and TV revenues that the company now earns in Japan. "This is a market-busting-



Nicholas and Ross remain on the lookout for global deals

open opportunity," said N.J. Nicholas, co-chief executive of Time Warner. The venture will also give Time Warner direct access to cutting-edge technologies like interactive television, which Toshiba and other companies are developing. "At a minimum, we'll simply be a lot more knowledgeable," Nicholas said.

The Japanese anticipate major benefits too. C. Itoh, which initiated the joint-venture talks last year, plans to expand its cable-TV operations in Japan by drawing heavily on Time Warner's expertise. As the world's largest trading company, C. Itoh

(sales: \$151 billion) already manages cable firms, runs sports and music channels and owns a 40% stake in two communications satellites. But that still leaves it plenty of room to grow in Japan, where only 18% of the households are wired for cable—most of them in rural areas with poor regular-TV reception. "Cable is going to be a big business here, but it will develop slowly," says Mitsubishi Kitabatake, a top C. Itoh corporate planner.

Cable also fascinates Toshiba (sales: \$35 billion), which C. Itoh brought into the deal. Toshiba executives warmed to the venture after touring an advanced 150-channel system that Time Warner is building in New York City.

Wall Street generally applauded the agreement, which follows a controversial Time Warner stock rights offering last summer in which the company raised a record \$2.6 billion to pare down its debt. Buoyed by the new alliance, the price of Time Warner stock surged 5% a share last week to close at 90¢. "A lot of people had been fretting over Time Warner's balance sheet," said John Reidy, who follows the media industry for Smith Barney. "This helps get the debt monkey off Time Warner's back."

Having concluded the Toshiba-C. Itoh deal, Time Warner is now expected to look in the other direction—Europe—to form new strategic alliances. "And that," vows Ross, "is exactly what's going to happen." The company could sell an additional 7½% stake in Time Warner Entertainment and still retain an 80% interest—the minimum level of ownership that would permit it to deduct any losses from the partnership from Time Warner's own taxes.

—By John Greenwald, With reporting by Barry Hillebrand/Tokyo

Any Bright Ideas Out There?

As it turns out, there are a lot of good ones, though the right way to lift the country out of its year-long slump is still anybody's guess

By BERNARD BAUMHOHL

The U.S. economy is in a mess and no one in Washington seems to have a clue how to get out of it. There was a flash of good news last week, when the government reported that the gross national product grew at a 2.4% annual rate in the third quarter. But it was quickly doused by a torrent of dismal reports showing last summer's rebound to be short-lived. Sales of new homes plunged 12.9% in September despite the lowest mortgage rates in 14 years. Consumer-confidence sagged in October to levels not seen since the height of the Persian Gulf war, and the unemployment rate for the month crept up 0.1%, to 6.8%. Even normally reticent Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan

admitted in a speech last week that the economy had recently turned "demonstrably sluggish."

Reviving this economy is proving to be one of the toughest challenges of the century. In previous downturns, policymakers were able to jump-start the engine through tax cuts, higher government spending and falling interest rates. But this time around, such techniques either haven't worked or are difficult to implement. Though interest rates have been falling since 1989, overextended banks won't ease up on new loans. Budget deficits exceeding a quarter of a trillion dollars discourage tax cuts or spending increases for fear of renewed inflation and higher interest rates.

What to do? Here are the recommendations of 10 economists from around the U.S.

Roger Brinner
chief economist
Data Resources
economic-research firm
Lexington, Mass.



- Federal Reserve should cut interest rates 1% immediately.
- Congress should *not* cut personal income tax rates. It would be too costly for the budget, heighten worries of inflation, and raise long-term interest rates.
- Fund extended unemployment benefits to the jobless, and pay for them by cutting fat in other federal programs like Amtrak and government pensions.
- Introduce a 10% investment-tax credit specifically for manufacturing equipment.

Don Conlan
president
Capital Strategy
Research
economic-consulting firm
Los Angeles

- Don't tamper—under any circumstances—with last year's accord to reduce the budget deficit. Changing it now would open a Pandora's box of troubles and raise inflation fears.
- Greenspan's Federal Reserve, too cautious with monetary policy so far, should allow short-term rates to fall a little more.

Fred Conrad
chief economist
Eastman Chemical
producer of plastics, fiber
and chemicals
Kingsport, Tenn.

- Do nothing. Let the economy rehabilitate on its own from the excesses of the 1980s. Quick fixes could end up doing more harm than good.
- Falling interest rates this year should be given more time to take effect.

Kathleen Cooper
chief economist
Exxon
Irving, Texas

- Do not change personal income tax rates or increase government spending. The budget deficit is already too high.
- Focus more on monetary policy. The Federal Reserve should gradually continue to reduce short-term interest rates.

John Godfrey
chief economist
Barnett Banks
Jacksonville

- Fed Chairman Greenspan should add a lot more money to the economy and forget about what it does to interest rates.
- Do not change personal income tax rates.
- Lower the capital-gains tax from 31% to 20% for all types of business investments. That should help real estate, banks and thrifts. Don't worry about minuscule losses in tax revenues. Reviving the economy is much more important than a modest increase in the budget deficit.

David Hale
chief economist
Kemper Financial
Chicago



- Allow banks, whose troubles are hindering the recovery, to earn interest on reserves placed with the Fed.
- Cut the capital-gains tax to 20%. Such a cut would stimulate real estate and help the financial industry, as well as the Resolution Trust Corporation, out of a jam.
- Don't meddle with personal income taxes.
- The Fed should continue to lower interest rates.

Kenneth Mayland
chief economist
Society National Bank
Cleveland

- Lower interest rates to whatever it takes to increase the supply of money and credit in the economy.
- Do not cut personal income tax rates.
- Reduce the capital-gains tax to 20%. Do not pay for this by slowing federal spending elsewhere. The pickup in business activity from the tax cut should produce enough revenues to pay for it.

Brian McDonald
director
Bureau of Business & Economic Research,
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque

- Pass the bill to extend unemployment benefits.
- Don't cut taxes—on anything. The financial markets would react adversely and push long-term rates up again.
- Bank regulators must ease up. Do not force banks to set aside reserves for losses on loans still paid on time, even if the value of the collateral has fallen.

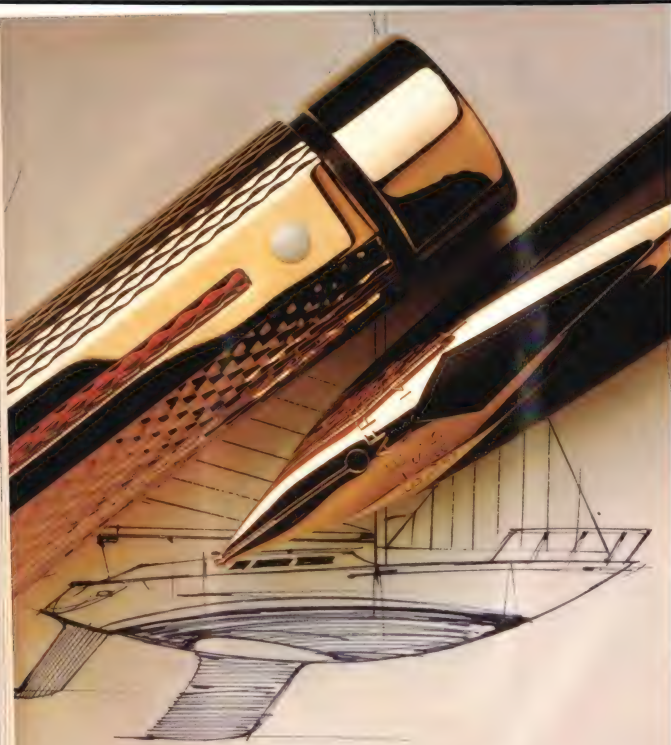
Lynn Michaelis
chief economist
The Weyerhaeuser Co.
forest-products
manufacturer
Tacoma

- Lower interest rates 1%—immediately.
- End Wall Street's concerns over rising budget deficits by halting all talk of large tax cuts.
- Government should set up a special fund task force to find ways to increase bank lending.

Edward Yardeni
chief economist
C.J. Lawrence
investment firm
New York City

- Accelerate the depreciation allowance on real estate to relieve the biggest problem, the stagnant real estate market.
- Roll back personal income tax rates to Reagan-era levels.
- Pass a capital-gains tax cut.
- Don't worry about widening the budget deficit for now. Let's get out of the slump first, otherwise the recession will continue and the deficit will grow on its own.
- Lower interest rates more. The federal-funds rate is still 5 percentage points away from zero.





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BUSINESS NOTES

CARS

Auto Exhaustion



How would you describe a loss of \$82 million? Chrysler's Lee Iacocca calls it "an outstanding performance." And the tragedy of the U.S. auto industry is: he just may be right.

The third-quarter deficit announced by Chrysler last week joins even worse figures from its domestic competitors. Ford's losses from July through September hit \$574.4 million, while during the same time GM's cash tank leaked \$1.1 billion. All in all, the Big Three have seen losses since the beginning of the year of \$5 bil-

lion—equivalent to the GNP of Luxembourg.

Chrysler is aggressively scrambling for cash. A recent stock deal should raise \$330 million. And last week the perpetual American underdog announced the sale of its half-interest in Diamond-Star Motors to Japanese joint-owner Mitsubishi Motors for \$100 million. Chrysler may give up its 12% interest in the foreign firm, which would not only replenish its coffers but add a bit more credibility to Chairman Lee's Japan bashing as well.

WALL STREET

End of the Free Ride

In an unusual advertisement-cum-apologia, Salomon Inc., parent of Wall Street's beleaguered Salomon Brothers, ran spreads in major newspapers last week that both touted its relatively reassuring third-quarter report and warned shareholders and employees alike of the struggle that remains. While the company set aside \$200 million for expenses tied to the recent scandal and other suits, it helped

pay for that reserve by eliminating \$110 million that had been earmarked for employee bonuses in 1991.

"The fine performance of some people subsidized truly outsized rewards for others," read the ad, which was signed by interim chairman Warren Buffett. From now on, Salomon will have a "rational incentive plan" under which managers will get much of their compensation in stock, motivating

them "to think like owners." In an industry seen as long past due for a correction of overgrown compensation, some other firms have taken a similar approach. Should the new tack



The embattled Buffett

at Salomon Inc. cause a wave of defections. Buffett (the Omaha investor whose Berkshire Hathaway holds 14% of Salomon) claims he will be undeterred. "We must have people to match our principles, not the reverse."



Yours for 40 million greenbacks

REAL ESTATE

A Piece of The Sky

For 40 years, there was nothing like it in the history of the world: the Empire State Building. Rising from midtown Manhattan during the bitter dawn of the Great Depression, its 6,500 windows, 10 million bricks and then record 102 stories became an instant urban icon. A movie encounter with King Kong in 1933 only added to the building's reputation.

Although the deal seems a steal by current New York City prices, the building's unknown new owner must contend with a pre-existing leasing arrangement that will lock in the rates on Empire State Building office space for decades to come.

While the deal seems a steal by current New York City prices, the building's unknown new owner must contend with a pre-existing leasing arrangement that will lock in the rates on Empire State Building office space for decades to come.

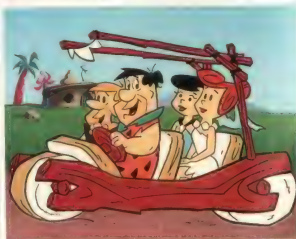
ENTERTAINMENT

Yabba-Dabba Deal!

Even his detractors will now be forced to admit it: Ted Turner is smarter than the average bear. The Atlanta-based media mogul already owns the intrepid cable news network CNN, TNT, a planet-wide TV empire and the MGM film library, with its 2,200 movies, including such crowd-pleasing classics as *Citizen Kane*, *Casablanca* and *Gone With the Wind*. Last week his Turner Broadcasting System announced the acquisition of a new mother lode of small-screen gems: Hanna-Barbera Productions, creators of the animated adventures of the prehistoric *Flintstones*, the futuristic *Jetsons* and the Great American Mammal, *Yogi Bear*.

TBS and partner Apollo Investment Fund shelled out \$320 million for the studio—and perhaps more important, its 3,000 half-hours of cartoon program-

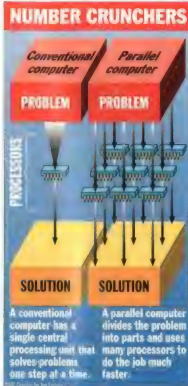
ming. Going back to the 1950s, the treasure trove could form the basis of a long-standing Turner dream: a worldwide all-cartoon channel.



Ted Turner's animated acquisitions: Barney, Fred, Betty and Wilma



CONNECTION MACHINE 5 The latest supercomputer from Thinking Machines comes in modules that can be combined into a system the size of a small gymnasium. Maximum power: 16,000 processors. Top speed: 2 trillion operations a second. Cost: up to \$200 million.



Machines from the Lunatic Fringe

A trillion calculations a second? In a quantum leap for supercomputers, a radical new design opens exciting vistas for science and industry

By PHILIP ELMER-DEWITT

When Danny Hillis first appeared on the computer scene in the mid-1980s, it was easy to dismiss him—and the odd-looking device he called the Connection Machine—as part of the industry's lunatic fringe. The chipmunk-faced scientist from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology had achieved a certain local notoriety from tooling around the streets of Cambridge in a secondhand fire engine. As an undergraduate he invented a mechanical computer, made entirely out of Tinkertoys, that could play tick-tack-toe. And as a graduate student at MIT's famed Artificial Intelligence Laboratory, he spent much of his time worrying about things like how infants learn to recognize their mother's face.

Moreover, the concept behind the Connection Machine, a big black cube studded with red blinking lights, had the power and simplicity of an idea that is too

good to be true. Most computers built over the previous 50 years had been designed to do one thing at a time; they funneled massive quantities of data through a single processor (the mathematical engine where the bulk of a computer's work takes place). Hillis proposed to break this computational logjam by replacing the single high-speed processor with large numbers of tiny computer chips that would attack the data in concert. The experts scoffed when Hillis argued that such "massively parallel" computers would soon move into the mainstream of computer science, surpassing in sheer speed and processing power even the famous supercomputers built by Cray Research.

The experts were wrong. Last week when Hillis introduced the Connection Machine's latest incarnation—another sleek black box with red blinking lights—most of his predictions had come true. Not only can the Connection Machine 5 lay claim to being the speediest computer in

the world, having bettered the most powerful Crays on some problems by a factor of 100, but Hillis' company, Thinking Machines Corp., has become the leader in one of the industry's fastest-growing markets. The first seven customers for the CM-5, who paid from \$1.5 million to as much as \$25 million for models containing anywhere from 32 to 1,024 processors, include some of the world's premier computer users: the Sandia and Los Alamos National Laboratories; the Army High Performance Computing Research Center at the University of Minnesota; Syracuse University; the University of California, Berkeley; and the University of Wisconsin. Schlumberger, an oil-services company, ordered one to help interpret seismic data. American Express bought two for analyzing customer buying habits.

The success of the Connection Machine marks several milestones in computer science. One is the widespread acceptance of the parallel-processing approach

to computer design. "This was a watershed year for massive parallelism," says Gary Smaby, a supercomputer analyst at the Smaby Group in Minneapolis. There are more than half a dozen start-up companies selling parallel-processing computers of one sort or another. Both Digital Equipment and IBM, the two largest U.S. computer manufacturers, have endorsed the concept (IBM by forming a joint venture in September with Thinking Machines), and even Cray Research has begun work on a massively parallel supercomputer. Japan has selected the technology as the target for one of its long-term research undertakings, and at least three Japanese manufacturers—NEC, Hitachi and Fujitsu—are busy making their own Connection Machine-like computers.

Hillis' achievement also underscores the growing importance of supercomputers—loosely defined as the most powerful number crunchers available at any given time. For years supercomputers were applied almost exclusively to national-security tasks, such as breaking codes or designing ever deadlier nuclear bombs. But the same computers that can locate a missile in outer space can also be used to find oil deposits in Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, and over the past decade a growing percentage of supercomputer sales have been to industry. Today supercomputers are used for everything from crash-testing cars to designing fuel-efficient aircraft.

The most eager consumers of supercomputer time, however, are scientists. Over the past five years, the number of researchers with access to supercomputers has grown almost a hundredfold, to more than 30,000, thanks to a network of supercomputer centers established by the National Science Foundation, the national laboratories and various state governments. In a wide variety of fields from astronomy to theoretical physics, computer simulation has replaced laboratory experimentation as a basic tool of scientific research. It is much easier to study the behavior of ionized gases in a computer



Hillis, left, and a model of Earth's atmosphere created on one of his new machines. The goal: to show how the planet's winds and oceans interact.



simulation, for example, than it is to build a full-scale nuclear-fusion reactor. "We've whetted an awful lot of scientific appetites," says Larry Smarr, director of the National Center for Supercomputing Applications at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

But no sooner had scientists and engineers discovered the intellectual benefits of supercomputing than they found themselves bumping into the computational limits of the current machines. Everything they wanted to do, it seemed, required 1,000 times more computer power than the fastest machines could provide. Today's models, for example, are not able to determine the structure of a protein from a sequence of genes. They can map the earth's atmosphere or its ocean currents but not the interactions between the two. They can predict hurricanes, but not such smaller meteorological events as thunderstorms and tornadoes.

Last year President Bush's science adviser, D. Allan Bromley, compiled a list of 10 of these scientific problems, which he called "grand challenges," and asked Congress for more than \$3 billion over the next

five years to develop the computers and high-speed networks necessary to solve them. (The \$638 million budgeted for 1992 is expected to be approved by Congress before Thanksgiving.) The centerpiece of Bromley's program is a research plan to build by 1996 a so-called teraflop machine, a computer capable of performing 1 trillion scientific calculations a second.

That goal may be reached sooner than anyone expected. The Connection Machine unveiled last week has a modular design that can be configured with anywhere from 32 to 16,000 processors. "We could build a teraflop machine today," boasts Hillis. In fact, a 16,000-processor CM-5 could deliver a peak speed of two teraflops—if anyone could afford it. Using today's components at current prices, such a machine would fill a room the size of a small gymnasium and cost \$200 million. Most analysts

believe that the first teraflop machines will be purchased when their price drops below \$50 million, sometime in the mid-1990s.

By then customers will have more than Thinking Machines to choose from. Intel, maker of the chips that run most IBM-compatible personal computers, is expected to announce its own teraflop initiative next month at a supercomputer convention in Albuquerque. Intel introduced a line of aggressively priced parallel supercomputers a year and a half ago and has nearly caught up to its Cambridge-based rival. One of its models, an experimental system called the Touchstone Delta, surpassed the top speed of the previous version of the Connection Machine last spring. Meanwhile, new massively parallel machines are expected over the next couple of years from Minneapolis-based Cray and such smaller companies as Kendall Square Research in Waltham, Mass., and Tera Computer in Seattle. By 1995, NEC, Fujitsu and Hitachi could be marketing their own teraflop machines.

Who actually sells the first teraflop computer is probably less important than who buys it. The big payoff from high-performance supercomputing—both in profits and in international competitiveness—will come when someone uses a Connection Machine, or a competing model, to design a wonder drug, a more efficient car or a cleaner-burning fuel. The new supercomputers are ready for delivery. It remains to be seen who will make the best use of them when they arrive. ■



Dirty fingernails.

Don't be surprised if you see them from time to time at Suzuki.

On management. This, after all, is a company created by engineers. And engineers, as a rule, are hands-on people. If it can be improved upon, made more reliable, more efficient, more durable, an engineer will try to make it so. It's this relentless drive that has, among other

things, made Suzuki cars and motorcycles so easy to drive

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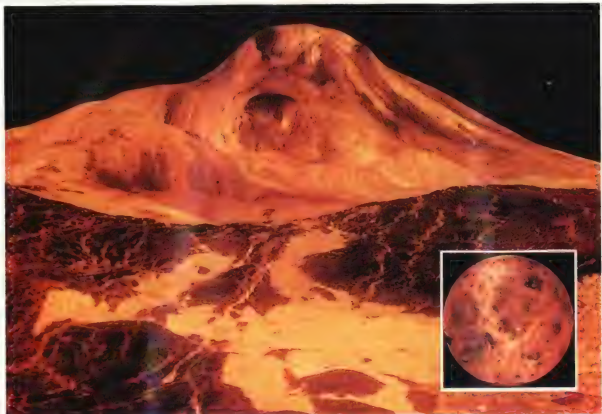


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Peering under the Venusian cloud cover, the spacecraft spots an apparent lava flow from Maat Mons, the planet's second highest mountain

The Big Blowup—on Venus

New images from the Magellan probe suggest that the planet orbiting closest to Earth is alive with volcanoes

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

The surface of Venus has never seemed very hospitable. Temperatures hover around 470°C (900°F), the result of a runaway greenhouse effect, and the pressure of its atmosphere, thick with carbon dioxide and sulfuric acid, is some 90 times that of Earth's. Lead would flow like water on Venus, and water cannot have existed in liquid form for perhaps a billion years.

Now NASA's Magellan spacecraft seems to have found one more horror in the nasty landscape: active volcanoes. Last week the space agency released the first detailed map of Venus and the most spectacular images ever made of its surface. The pictures offer the best evidence to date that a planet once presumed dead is actually a lively cauldron of geological change.

The most stunning image is of Venus' second tallest mountain, Maat Mons, which rises 8 km (5 miles). Most of the planet's many peaks, including 9.5-km- (6-mile-) high Maxwell Montes, look bright in

the radar pictures Magellan takes from its orbit above the perpetual cloud cover. That means they are strong reflectors of radar waves. But Maat Mons is dark; like the Stealth bomber, it absorbs much of the radar falling on it.

This intriguing fact, say project scientists, is a strong hint that the mountain has recently been covered with lava. Rock that sits on the surface of mountaintops appears to weather quickly in the hot, chemically reactive atmosphere, creating a soil that is rich in iron sulfide. It is this mineral, the scientists believe, that shows up easily on radar. If Maat Mons doesn't have any, it has presumably been resurfaced, perhaps within the past few years.

Such resurfacing has undoubtedly taken place in Venus' lowlands: earlier images of the planet showed vast areas that are remarkably free of craters. That would be easy to explain on a planet like Earth, where cratering from meteor strikes is erased by steady erosion. But while there is some evidence of wind erosion on Venus,

the best explanation for the lack of cratering is periodic lava flows. Magellan has found direct evidence of such flows, including domelike upwellings and hardened streams of rock trailing down the sides of Venusian peaks. There are also signs of other geologic activity, including dramatic faulting and several distinct episodes of mountain building. But until last week the evidence didn't indicate whether the activity was still going on or had ceased millions of years ago. The case for active Venusian volcanoes is not yet proved, but Magellan, which is now well into its second complete survey of the planet's surface, may eventually settle the issue.

While NASA studied Magellan's images, another space explorer made history last week. Moving out beyond Mars, Galileo became the first spacecraft to have a close encounter with an asteroid. But pictures of the mysterious planetary fragment, called Gaspra, are unavailable because Galileo's main antenna for sending out images is frozen in the wrong position. Not until 1992, when Galileo swings back by Earth, can smaller antennas on the craft successfully transmit the missing pictures. The frustrating delay makes scientists all the more grateful for Magellan's reliable—and revealing—signals from Venus. ■

People

By ALEXANDER TRESNIOWSKI/Reported by Wendy Cole

Classic Mike

Remember that giddy speculation about how pop introvert MICHAEL JACKSON, at Madonna's behest, was going to change his image? Well, the new Michael is on display in *Black or White*, the first video from his upcoming *Dangerous* album, and whipped cream aside, it looks as if not even Madonna can drag Jackson out of the '80s. "There is no new look," confirms a Jackson spokesman, or as the video's director, JOHN LANDIS, puts it, "Michael looks like Michael." Which is to say, a little weird. The frothiness is the result of a wacky, on-set, cream pie-squirt gun-water balloon battle orchestrated by Jackson and video co-star MACAULAY CULKIN. Hundreds of pies were ordered, and a camera crew caught the whole thing ("Michael documents everything in his life," says Landis). Maturity is still a dirty word in the Jackson camp.



Ghost Writing

Like a bear, tough guy Norman Mailer is dangerous when wounded. After his hefty novel *Hurled's* *Ghost* received a painfully mixed review from John Simon in the *New York Times* Book Review, an aggrieved Mailer fought back. He gathered "evidence" of Simon's bias against him, threw his weight around in a meeting with the *Times* last week, and finally persuaded the editors to give "prominent play" to a lengthy rebuttal in the Nov. 17 edition, a rare occurrence. "He has a very thin skin," jabs Simon, but Mailer disagrees. "I'm very thick-skinned about reviews. I don't normally go around complaining," he says. "But this is a special case."

La Debbie

It sounds like cynical stunt-casting: perky pop singer Debbie Gibson in Broadway's baroque peasant musical *Les Misérables*? But Gibson, who



will play the waif Eponine as of Jan. 7, prefers to call it fate. She auditioned for the role six years ago, was deemed too young, then handled the rejection by becoming a teenage millionaire. Still, she never forgot *Les Miz*. "It's been my favorite show for years," says Gibson. "I've been hoping to do it all along." What next, Tiffany in *Miss Saigon*?

Walking Tall

If the din of rap music has you feeling edgy, there's a cure: Marc Cohn, a sensitive singer/songwriter whose self-titled debut album and hit single *Walking in Memphis* are unabashedly, well, sensitive. Also wildly successful: Cohn, 32, is suddenly being touted as a spokesman for his generation, a troubadour for troubled times. His music, though, isn't about demographics. "I listen to my heart," says the throaty-voiced nice guy, who has just kicked off his first U.S. tour but remembers playing backup at Caroline Kennedy's wedding before making it big. So what about the S



word? Says Cohn: "My sensitive side comes across more in my songs than in my life."



Copperfield of Dreams

Sleight of hand on a grand scale: that's what made magician DAVID COPPERFIELD famous and savings and loan executives infamous. So it's only fitting that Copperfield has purchased a major collection of magic memorabilia from the Resolution Trust Corporation, the federal agency in charge of cleaning up the S&L mess. The collection, originally acquired by a now defunct savings bank, includes artifacts like Houdini's private letters. "It's a playground, a dream," gushes Copperfield, who beat out the Library of Congress for the booty. "But it's not for curiosity seekers," he says. Only "qualified performers and scholars" will have access.



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Are Black Colleges Worth Saving?

The Supreme Court will consider whether the states should pay publicly funded institutions for the neglect caused by decades of discrimination

By JULIE JOHNSON OXFORD

For the past 120 years, Alcorn State University, situated on a remote Mississippi campus, has been attended almost exclusively by blacks. It is typical of the nation's 47 historically black state-run colleges, most of them in the Deep South, which were founded as the stepchildren of a segregated public education system. The institutions were eventually touted as providing "separate but equal" training for blacks excluded from universities such as Ole Miss. What was missing, mostly, was equality: the schools were underfunded, understaffed and ignored, a condition that persists in varying degrees today.

Now Alcorn State (enrollment: 3,317) is at the center of a legal struggle that could have the same significance for public higher education as the hard-fought battles over school desegregation of the 1950s. A class-action suit was filed in 1975 by a group of students, parents and taxpayers who demanded that all of Mississippi's black colleges receive more money and aid to make up for the decades of neglect. The case has finally made its way to the U.S. Supreme Court, and arguments will be heard next week. It marks the first time the Justices will consider how the widely embraced principles of *Brown v. Board of Education*, the landmark decision that desegregated public elementary and secondary schools, apply to colleges and universities.

In addition, the dispute raises a larger philosophical question: Should separate colleges that serve primarily blacks be encouraged, or is it better to push for a color-blind system of public higher education? The Justice Department had planned to argue that it might be unconstitutional to force states to bolster black colleges on an explicitly racial basis. But President Bush has long believed that black colleges play an important role; he is an honorary chairman of the United Negro College Fund, which raises money for 41 private institutions, such as Morehouse and Tuskegee, that are not part of publicly funded state systems. After heavy lobbying by presidents of black colleges, Bush personally ordered the Justice Department to amend its brief so that it supports the role of historically black colleges, public as well as private.

The confrontation comes at a time when these institutions are enjoying renewed popularity. The proportion of



ALCORN STATE: The underfunded university's swine research center. Academic degrees are limited almost exclusively to the disciplines of education and agriculture.

blacks going to college across the U.S. has declined, but public black colleges saw their enrollment climb 13.2% from 1980 to 1989. The institutions also award nearly one-third of all undergraduate degrees granted to the 1.1 million blacks who pursue postsecondary study.

Contrary to the national trends, black college enrollment in Mississippi is declining. The state's three historically

black state-run schools—Alcorn State, Jackson State and Mississippi Valley State—educate the majority of black residents who go on to college. In 1981 the three schools graduated 1,353 students, while the predominantly white universities graduated 584 blacks. By 1990 the number of degrees granted at black schools had dropped to 935, while predominantly white schools awarded only 610. Contends Alvin O. Chambliss Jr., a Mississippi legal aid lawyer who has shepherded the plaintiffs' case from its outset: "Our black colleges are dying on the vine, and it's criminal."

Mississippi publicly ended college segregation in 1962. But Chambliss argues that only continued discrimination can explain why all of the state's formerly whites-only universities remain more than 80%

The largest historically black public colleges

University	Main Location	Enrollment
Southern	Baton Rouge, La.	15,200
Texas Southern	Houston	10,160
Florida A & M	Tallahassee, Fla.	9,200
Norfolk State	Norfolk, Va.	8,300
Tennessee State	Nashville	7,400
North Carolina A & T	Greensboro, N.C.	7,040
Grambling State	Grambling, La.	7,030
Jackson State	Jackson, Miss.	6,640
Prairie View A & M	Prairie View, Texas	5,630
North Carolina Central	Durham, N.C.	5,320

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MISSISSIPPI STATE: Student at the poultry research center. Although it also specializes in agriculture, the university offers more than 200 graduate and undergraduate degrees.

white, even though about half of Mississippi's public high school graduates are black. He contends that the discrimination is bolstered by policies like Mississippi's reliance on the ACT assessment test as the primary criteria for admission to colleges. The score requirement set for admission to Mississippi's onetime white colleges is higher than at the historically black schools.

What Chambliss calls the "inherently superior resources and programs" of the formerly white schools shows up dramatically in a comparison of Alcorn State and the flagship agricultural and engineering school, Mississippi State, in Starkville, 210 miles northeast of Alcorn. Both are land-grant institutions, and both focus on agricultural and livestock research.

The similarities virtually end there. Mississippi State, with 14,700 students, offers more than 200 undergraduate and graduate degrees. Its library, with more than 1 million volumes, is the biggest in the state. Alcorn's academic offerings are limited almost exclusively to degrees in education and agriculture. The plaintiffs are demanding an end to the artificially high entrance barrier at the formerly white schools. But more important, they want Mississippi to spend enough money on Alcorn and the other black schools to upgrade their standards, and to add remedial programs to assist black students as they enroll at the predominantly white schools. White Mississippi educators and politicians fear that that remedy could easily run into tens of millions of dollars. A favorable ruling would have immediate implications for states like Alabama and Louisiana. Both face similar litigation, and have filed briefs in support of their neighbor.

W. Ray Cleere, Mississippi's higher education commissioner, concedes that

"there are program disparities" between the black colleges and the predominantly white ones. He argues they are not attributable to race, but to the "high-cost, highly prestigious programs" that have traditionally been based at the larger schools. "All of our colleges," he adds, "are equitably and consistently underfunded at the same level." Mississippi argues that there is no need for further remedies against past bias, beyond aggressive recruitment efforts aimed at minorities that are already under way at the formerly white schools.

There are few precedents to help predict what the Supreme Court will decide. The Justices ruled 5 to 3 last year, for example, that municipalities can be compelled to correct vestiges of prior discrimination. The question is whether college systems have a similar duty, since students attend them voluntarily. Justice David Souter was asked in his confirmation hearings about racial discrimination, and replied that there was a duty not only to stop it but also to offer redress. Clarence Thomas, according to individuals familiar with his thinking, is said to be "pro-black colleges," but in public pronouncements he has leaned toward the color-blind jurisprudence popular with conservatives.

As the situation at Alcorn State illustrates, it is impossible to have it both ways: seeking a color-blind and integrated system of state-funded education, while at the same time preserving a system of black colleges that both the President and the plaintiffs believe can play a useful role. If the Supreme Court rules that the states do not need to provide a remedy, these institutions will wither away. "A defeat will spell, legally, the beginning of the end for black colleges," says Chambliss. "They're hanging by fingernails now."

Miscellany

IT'S NOT IN THE MAIL. For Los Angeles County residents who still haven't received their federal income tax refund, it's time to get on the phone. Last week the IRS shredded 8,642 uncashed checks worth nearly \$5 million because they had been returned as undeliverable. The checks will not be reissued unless the taxpayers call in. Failure to contact the IRS could cost one Beverly Hills resident \$229,015—the largest shredded refund.

GO-GO GORILLA. Timmy, a 497-lb. silver-back gorilla from the Cleveland Metro-parks Zoo, left his mate Katie last week for a fling at the Bronx Zoo with four breeding beauties. Animal-rights activists fought the temporary move, but to no avail. They argued that Timmy is being used as a stud pony and not being treated as a "sensitive male." Katie, who is infertile, will be entertained by Oscar, a silverback from the Topeka Zoo, until Timmy returns.

CELIBACY SENTENCE. Alberto Gonzales, 27, of Salem, Ore., carries the AIDS virus and knows it, but he did not tell his girlfriend during their two-year relationship. After pleading no contest to a felony-assault count for transmitting the virus, Gonzales was given an unprecedented sentence: he is not allowed to have sex or even dates for five years. Officials concede this will be difficult to enforce, but Gonzales will be strictly supervised and will have to wear an electronic surveillance device for six months. Judge Janice Wilson said she will send Gonzales to jail if he violates the order.

DOWN ON HIGHS. America is starting to kiss off its infatuation with marijuana. The National Institute on Drug Abuse says the number of weed smokers dropped one-third last year, to 20.5 million, from a 1979 high of 31.5 million. Reasons cited for the decline are rising prices, fewer supplies and the plain fact that it's just not cool anymore to use the stuff.

TRANSPACIFIC TRAGEDY. The conceptual artist Christo's \$26 million project started as a transpacific wonder; it ended in bi-national disaster. Last week a worker was electrocuted while taking down one of the 1,340 20-ft. blue umbrellas unfurled along 12 miles of Japan's landscape. A week earlier, high California winds toppled one of 1,760 yellow umbrellas opened as part of the same project. Lori Rae Mathews, 33, was crushed by the 485-lb. parasol. Removing the ill-starred display will take months.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK:

"Now he fits in with my antiques."
—Jacqueline Jackson, on her husband Jesse's 50th birthday.

Filming At Full Throttle

Goodfella **MARTIN SCORSESE**, with his seductive feel for psychotics, shows again in *Cape Fear* why he is America's premier picturemaker

By RICHARD CORLISS

From the window of Martin Scorsese's apartment on the 75th floor of a slim midtown skyscraper, Manhattan seems a pretty little thing. Central Park is a toy football field, and the swaying trees a sea of pompoms at half time. In the apartment's foyer, a poster for the furtive Italian classic *Ossessione*—good title for nearly any Scorsese project—auditions you. An old horror film flickers on a projector screen the size of Charles Foster Kane's fireplace. This is where and how God would live if he loved movies.

But is it the right place for Scorsese? His best films—*Mean Streets*, *Taxi Driver*, *Raging Bull*, *GoodFellas*, the new *Cape Fear*—live at gutter and gut level. Maybe Steven Spielberg, whose films are aspirations to altitude, deserves to live this high up. In fact, he keeps a facing apartment at the top of another steel stalk a few blocks away. When Scorsese moved here three years ago, Spielberg gave his friend a telescope so that movieland's two most gifted directors could keep an eye on each other. Spielberg may as well have presented him with Patriot missile parts, assembly required. "Steve's the whiz at technical stuff," says Scorsese, 48, who will soon move into a town house, closer to ground zero of the twisted city he loves. "I could never get the thing to work."

Martin Scorsese, the klutz who can get the movie thing to work like no other American filmmaker. Scorsese, the frail, asthmatic fellow whose protagonists are toward psychopathy, or else start there and keep going. Scorsese, the ex-seminarian whose volcanic film style regularly drives the ratings sentinels bats. Scorsese, the child of Manhattan's Little Italy who today can't watch parts of *Raging Bull*: "Too upsetting." Scorsese, the four-times-married gent (including to Isabella Rossellini and Barbara De Fina, producer of *Cape Fear*) whose films are mostly about men in killer conflict. The man embraces multitudes of contradictions. He is also one of the few reasons not to be depressed about current movies.

Yet whether you love his films or hate them—and to hate them you probably have to be insensitive to the seductive power of movie craft at full throttle—they are of a piece, easy to spot. Start (in seven of Scorsese's 16 features) with Robert De Niro, the director's onscreen sales rep, reeking menace, ready to pose for a portrait of American evil. Introduce a sec-

ond character, an audience surrogate, intoxicated by the De Niro magnetism but cramped by conscience. Put them, and a couple dozen other cultures and victims, on the street. Add a knowing rock-'n'-roll sound track, a hurtling camera that always knows where to be and an editing strategy (executed by the brilliant Thelma Schoonmaker) that shaves scenes to the bone and keeps the viewer nicely off kilter.

Scorsese's style reconciles art-house finesse with B-movie excess. And when it finds a subject to match, the result is a *Taxi Driver*—brazen, desperate, indelible—or a *Raging Bull*, which critics' polls called the best movie of the '80s. *Cape Fear*, while not a project Scorsese originated, has the same preoccupations, the same verve. When one reviewer ticks off the movie's themes, the auteur shrugs and says, "Yeah, sure. Guilt, obsession. All the old stuff. All my old friends."

It's true: the gang's all here. O.K., Scorsese had to be dragged kicking and equivocating into the movie: De Niro kept cajoling the director, and Spielberg, whose Amblin Entertainment produced the film, kept encouraging him to try a mainstream thriller. Even during shooting he seemed defensive. "This is only a remake," Scorsese said on the set in Florida, "an extension of the themes in the 1962 original. Look at this scene we're doing: man picks up rock, hits bad guy." But by now, as he fine-tunes *Cape Fear* for release next week, it is uniquely Scorsese's picture—he couldn't sell out if he wanted to. The film is violent, excessive and, above all, entertaining; it anticipates, satisfies and then trumps the moviegoer's expectations. It plunders film history (*The Night of the Hunter*, *Psycho*, even Spielberg's shooting stars) and creates, in De Niro's character, a loner driven to impossible extremes by the voices inside him. He is brother to *Taxi Driver*'s Travis Bickle and *Raging Bull*'s Jake La Motta, and evil twin to Jesus in Scorsese's *The Last Temptation of Christ*.

In this remake of the 1962 sicko classic based on John D. MacDonald's novel *The Executioners*, the plot contours are the same: a sleazy ex-con, Max Cady, comes to a small Southern town to take his slow revenge on a lawyer who sent him to jail, and on the lawyer's vulnerable family. The basic ethical tangle remains as well: How can a good liberal fight a bad man who at first may do nothing but lurk? But now everything else is more intense, more complex. From the film's first images—wild creature shots shimmering just below sea level—like monsters of the id, De Niro's eyes burning through the screen—*Cape Fear* has been Bobbyized and Martyized.

In the 1962 *Cape Fear*, written by James R. Webb and directed by J. Lee Thompson, Robert Mitchum played Cady, and much of the movie's repellent jolt came from his look and bulk. Lounging on a street corner with his X-rated face, smirking at the fragile innocence of the lawyer's young daughter, he was a case study of "lewd vagrancy." Leaning his bare-barrel torso into a cringing Polly Bergen (the lawyer's wife), cracking a raw egg in the air and then wiping the semen-like yolk from her shoulders and breasts, caressing her, undressing her with his syrupy threats, slapping her when she can't stop wailing, he was as lurid a demon of predatory sensuality as Hollywood then dared imagine.

Mitchum was two things De Niro isn't: big and sexy. De Niro's Cady, though, has the cunning of madness. His body tattooed with Old Testament threats, he is a sleek machine of vengeance. He even has some reason for his rank righteousness: Unlike the 1962 film's lawyer (Gregory Peck), who had simply been the witness to Cady's criminal activity, this Sam Bowden (Nick Nolte) was once Cady's lawyer, and



What does *Cape Fear* have? "Yeah, sure. Guilt, obsession. All the old stuff. All my old friends."

apart. So we ran all these changes on the 'good' family. And now that they're imperfect, I love every one of them."

With equal and less complicated affection, Scorsese remembers his own extended Little Italy family—his parents' brothers and sisters and their kids, 30 or 40 in all, gathered for holiday fiestas on Elizabeth Street. It was a neighborhood where the "good" people and the "bad" mingled a lot more easily than the Bowdens do with Max. "Some directors," Scorsese says, "romanticize Italian-American gangsters. First of all, where we lived there were no gangs, no Jets and Sharks; that was beneath us. Second, there was no big difference between people who went into 'certain circles' and the rest of us. There were the guys who went off to college, the blue-collar guys and the other group, the ones who had the calling. And I shuttled among all three."

Throughout his youth, Scorsese thought he had a calling too. The future director of *The Last Temptation of Christ* yearned to be a priest. But another vocation beckoned. Charles and Catherine Scorsese, who today make occasional endearing cameo appearances in their son's films, took young Marty to the movies, and it was *assessante* at first sight. He talks of old movies as a caliph might of all his beautiful women. So many films, so much informed love. "Watching *Land of the Pharaohs* as a kid, I felt I was in ancient Egypt," he recalls. "And I've been obsessed with CinemaScope since I saw *The Robe* at the Roxy in 1953." (*Cape Fear* is his first wide-screen film.) In the '70s he was one of

he has plenty to hide. Sam, his wife Leigh (Jessica Lange) and their daughter Danny (Juliette Lewis) are no ideal family. But they are ideal marks for Cady. He is pure; they are confused. He is obsessed, they are demoralized. He is guilty, they are guilt-ridden. Whispering into the ear of Sam's secrets, Leigh's suspicions and Danny's adolescent defiance, Max is the guilty conscience in every decent person.

"When I read Wesley Strick's script," Scorsese says, "I loved Max and hated the family—because Max moved and they just sat there. When Wesley and I got together, I said, 'I apologize for what's about to happen to you.' We stripped the script down and built it up. Now the family is in a lot of pain. They don't trust each other. Sam has had an affair whose wounds—his wife's, his child's, his own—he's trying to lick and live down. Going in, he's guilty, poor guy. Leigh is watching life ebb away as she nears middle age; things are bad, and they're going to get worse. And Danny despises them both. She needs to break out from them, no matter what danger she might break into. They all need a trauma that will either bind them together or completely tear them

several directors asked by a film magazine for a list of old movies that might be designated as "guilty pleasures"—orphan films he loved. Everyone else chose 10; Scorsese came up with 125, and he wasn't even winded.

"When someone compliments me on my movies," Scorsese says, "I tell them, 'Thank you, but I bet I've seen more movies than you have, and I know what's *really* good. I know what I'm up against.' Fair enough. But his contemporaries are up against something equally formidable: the Scorsese canon. *Cape Fear* is a worthy addition to it; the new film meets the challenge of starting at fever pitch and then ascending to a climax that plays like a hurricane of hysteria.

Young Marty, mature Scorsese. The dreamy boy has put his nightmares and memories on film. Those old friends swaggering past Umberto's Clam House have been alchemized into tragicomic De Niro's. And—let's have a happy ending for one Scorsese picture—the little lad from the mean streets has scaled the heights. Not just to a luxe Manhattan aerie but into the realm where almost no contemporary filmmaker can touch him. Made it, Ma, top of the world. ■

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Television

Oh, the Agony! The Ratings!

The networks court women viewers with a parade of heroines who are betrayed, battered and bewildered

By RICHARD ZOGLIN

Anita Hill didn't know how easy she had it. Compared with the women being manhandled every week in made-for-TV movies, Clarence Thomas' accuser got kid-glove treatment from the Senate Judiciary Committee. Consider just a few story lines from recent or soon-to-air network films:

▶ An unmarried mother of three is sent to prison after being wrongly convicted of selling cocaine. There she grapples with the problem of trying to raise her kids from inside the slammer.

▶ A female surgeon is raped by a man posing as a hospital employee. The police can't find the culprit, but she does—when he turns up on her operating table.

▶ A woman plans an extramarital affair with the help of her best friend. But the one-night stand goes awry, and when her friend is found dead the next morning, the adulteress is charged with murder.

▶ A dental hygienist marries her boss, who turns out to be a class-A sleazeball. He beats her nearly to death on their honeymoon, finishes the job a few years later, then battles the woman's sister for custody of the couple's infant son.

Women certainly can't complain that TV is ignoring them. They are, in fact, the dramatic focus of an increasingly large proportion of prime-time fare. According to Nielsen figures, the adult audience on a typical fall evening is more than 58% female. For drama shows, the figure rises to 61%. Result: with a few hairy-chested exceptions (NBC's upcoming *The Return of Eliot Ness*), the vast majority of network movies and miniseries—particularly during November's important ratings "sweeps"—are aimed squarely at female viewers.

But such attention comes at a daunting price: the rise of the victimization drama. We're not talking about glitzy, Danielle Steel soap operas, or the traditional disease-of-the-week tearjerker. These are more "serious" dramas, frequently based on real-life news events and dealing with important issues. Stripped to their essence, however, they are about one

thing: extravagant, glorious suffering.

The formula is depressingly familiar: a happy woman has her life shattered by a senseless crime, family tragedy or miscarriage of justice. From then on, society conspires against her with the intensity of the manhunt that pursued Thelma and Louise. Her enemies are smart and conniving, her



On the scalp's edge: Smith takes abuse in *The Rape of Dr. Willis*

allies weak and ineffectual. Her husband may try to help, but he is typically unreliable. Children, though loving, can be cruel. And everybody yells at her.

Even when misfortune befalls others, it is the woman who seems to bear the burden. In ABC's *Stranger in the Family*, a teenager is stricken with amnesia after an auto accident. But the drama focuses on his mother (Teri Garr) and her efforts to recapture her "lost" son. In CBS's *My Son Johnny*, Rick Schroder plays a small-time hood who has brutalized his younger brother from childhood. Again, Mom (Michelle Lee) is the star sufferer: she is forced to recognize that she has raised a bad boy.

Then there is the woman as surrogate victim. In NBC's *She Sins She's Innocent*, Katey Sagal is the mother of a teenager wrongly accused of murdering a classmate. In one scene, Mom pays a consoling visit to

the dead girl's parents. "Your daughter murdered my baby!" screams the mother in reply. "Now there's only one thing I'm living for, and that is to watch you suffer!" Thanks, and have a nice day.

The more virtuous and successful the woman, the more precarious her position. In NBC's *Deadly Medicine*, Veronica Hamel plays a pediatrician with a loving husband who is building their dream house. Her downfall begins when she hires a nurse (Susan Ruttan) who turns out to be a baby killer. The doctor, naturally, is accused of the crime, and the result is a witch-hunt that would have done Salem proud: patients

leave her, crank callers pester her, and her husband turns icy.

Jaclyn Smith goes through a nearly identical cycle of abuse in CBS's *The Rape of Dr. Willis*. The former Charlie's Angel plays a doctor who performs emergency surgery to try to save the man who raped her. Fat lot of good it does. The creep dies anyway, and the doctor is forced to defend herself against charges that she purposely let him die. Snarls a prosecutor: "What happened to your thirst for revenge?" So much for professional ethics.

The hysterical classic of this genre maybe *False Arrest*, a two-part ABC drama this week. Donna Mills, TV's most heart-wrenching sufferer, plays a businessman's wife who is falsely accused of ordering the murder of her husband's partner. It's all downhill from there. In jail she is brutally raped. Out on bail, she gets vicious phone calls ("Murderer! You're gonna burn in hell!"). At her trial, she is framed by lying lawfirms. Once in prison, she learns that her husband has emptied her bank account and disappeared. Her kids stop coming to visit. Even her lawyer drops her case without explanation. And Job thought *he* had bad days.

Are these masochistic dramas expressing women's insecurity about their feminist-era advances? Or simply the exploitative shrewdness of the mostly male producers who concoct them? The films smartly cover all bases. They put women in the time-tested role of victim, yet focus on strong characters who, for all their troubles, triumph in the end. The dramas become parables of feminist self-realization. For Mills, things start to turn around in prison when she learns to depend on no one but herself. "You wanna get out of here?" an inmate tells her. "Grow up!" Fine for her to say. But for TV's women sufferers, the next rapist, murderer or slimy attorney is just around the corner. ■



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Books

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Epitome of sea power: H.M.S. *Dreadnought* and Sir John Fisher, inset

When Britannia Ruled

Vividly but lengthily, historian Robert Massie retells the story of a massive arms race that led to war

By JOHN ELSON

The year 1897 saw many celebrations of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee, but none so grand as the naval review that took place on June 26. It was a humid, breezeless day, and flags hung limply on their staffs. Precisely at 2 p.m., the royal yacht *Victoria and Albert*, bearing an entourage headed by the Prince of Wales as surrogate for his frail, ailing mother, cast off from Portsmouth quay and steamed toward the flotilla. It was an awesome sight: 165 British ships of the line, plus vessels from 14 other nations including the U.S. and Japan. At a signal, seamen scurried to attention on decks and yards, and the warships boomed out cannon salutes as the yacht passed by. For three hours that evening, in a dazzling display of modern technology, every ship was outlined against the somber sky by hundreds of electric lights. It was, wrote a stunned British reporter, "a fairy fleet festooned with chains of gold."

As Robert K. Massie notes in *Dreadnought* (Random House; 1,007 pages; \$35), the Portsmouth review marked "the high-water mark of British naval supremacy," which had gone virtually unchallenged since Admiral Horatio Nelson's victory over a French fleet at Trafalgar in 1805.

During the latter years of the 19th century, however, France and Russia had constructed seemingly formidable armadas. More worrisome, Germany, under the prodding of Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, was rapidly building a war fleet to protect its commercial interests and colonial empire. The naval rivalry between Britain and Germany led to an arms race that in its consequence was deadlier than the post-war nuclear buildup of the U.S. and Soviet Union. For as Massie persuasively argues, that oceanic competition was a key factor in plunging Europe into the bloody morass still known as the Great War.

Without warships, Britain was perilously vulnerable to blockade or invasion. But Britannia's capacity to rule the waves, as Massie also points out, was somewhat illusory: the Royal Navy during much of Victoria's reign was largely unfit for combat. Weighed down by moribund traditions that Winston Churchill acidly defined as "rum, sodomy, and the lash," British tars were ill fed and worse led. While their social-climbing officers fopped and preened, sailors spent long days at sea scrubbing decks and polishing brightwork, or wielding cutlasses in boarding drills as if they were still in the age of sail. Meanwhile, gunnery practice was cursory even though

naval bombardments were ludicrously inaccurate. In 1881, for example, eight British battleships fired 3,000 rounds at forts guarding the Egyptian city of Alexandria and scored precisely 10 hits.

The man who did the most to spare Britain from Armageddon at sea was a hot-tempered banty rooster of a martinet with, as a female admirer put it, eyes "like smouldering charcoals." (He was, among other things, a superb dancer.) Gritty, inexhaustible and ruthless, Sir John Arbuthnot (Jacky) Fisher rose from midshipman to First Sea Lord (1904-10) and transformed the Royal Navy along the way. Fisher was a true visionary. He devised and named the class of small, fast warships that navies still call "destroyers." He predicted that torpedoes would supplant long-range guns as the navy's primary weapon and that submarines were the warships of the future. He ordered and supervised the construction of H.M.S. *Dreadnought*, which became the eponym for swift, heavily armed super battleships. And in a welcome addition to the quality of life belowdecks, he had baking ovens installed on ships to provide fresh bread in place of hardtack biscuits.

Relations among European powers warmed and cooled in the crisis-fueled game of diplomacy played during the Edwardian era, but both Fisher and Tirpitz had a clear sense of what the future offered. Nine days after becoming naval secretary in 1897, the German admiral cited Britain as his country's "most dangerous naval enemy"—a view from which he never wavered. Fisher similarly saw Germany as Britain's inevitable foe. In 1911 he predicted that in October three years hence his protégé Sir John Jellicoe would command British forces "when the Battle of Armageddon comes along." Fisher was right about the year, although World War I actually began in August. And Jellicoe was in command when the Kaiser's High Seas Fleet met its Armageddon in 1916, at the Battle of Jutland.

Dreadnought's author is no stranger to this era. In 1967 he earned critical praise with *Nicholas and Alexandra*, which in many respects was a more inviting book. It had a relatively manageable cast and an agonizing family tragedy—the hemophilia of the Russian imperial couple's only son—at its center. By contrast, *Dreadnought* is almost too sprawling a canvas. Time after time the narrative creaks to a halt while Massie pauses to introduce yet another admiral, politician or royal personage or to explain the background of the latest diplomatic spat involving Morocco. Even so, *Dreadnought* is history in the grand manner, as most readers prefer it: how people shaped, or were shaped by, events that consensus has declared to be landmarks. At his vivid best, Massie does not simply retell the past. He allows one, in a way, to relive it. ■

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Books

The Case for Goneril and Regan

In a powerful novel, Jane Smiley goes farming to find some home truths

By MARTHA DUFFY

Larry Cook owns 1,000 acres of rich soil in Iowa. He is a tough, autocratic man, well suited to his unforgiving job, "a man willing to work all the time who's trained his children to work the same way." The Cook place is a model modern establishment with all the signs of a good farm: "clean fields, neatly painted buildings, breakfast at six, no debts, no standing water." Life is a round of chores—the endless regimen of meals, the canning frenzies, the tireless pursuit of new and fancier equipment.

One day, without warning, Larry decides to turn the property over to his daughters—Ginny, Rose and Caroline—and their husbands. If any of this reminds you of *King Lear*, read on. At the beginning the Cooks seem invulnerable. Only Caroline's defection to Des Moines and marriage to a non-farmer slightly disturb their cohesiveness. But by the end, the father has gone mad, the farm has been lost, the family splintered.

It is a tribute to Jane Smiley's absorbing, well-plotted novel that it never reads like a gloss on Shakespeare. For one thing, *A Thousand Acres* has an exact and exhilarating sense of place, a sheer Americanness that gives it its own soul and roots. More important, Ginny and Rose are not villains. Smiley has had *Lear* at the back of her mind since she first read the play. "I never bought the conventional interpretation that Goneril and Regan were completely evil," she says. "Unconsciously at first, I had reservations; this is not the whole story."

Seeing Akira Kurosawa's *Ran*, also based on *Lear*, provided the missing link. In the film the daughters are sons, and one of them tells the old man that his children are what he made them. Smiley began reading commentaries about the play, especially by feminists, and was willed to find that even the most radical rejected Shakespeare's terrible twosome: "A remark condemning Goneril and Regan was like rigueur."

Ginny and Rose, in their 30s, make a wonderful double portrait of sisters who love and understand each other. A reader could sit around their kitchen table for hours. They are not plotters but increasingly angry victims, and their rage makes them blind. Ginny has had five miscarriages, with no surviving children. Rose has had a mastectomy. Both fall in love with Jess Clark, a



The author and an Iowa quilt

local boy who arrives back in town after 13 years well informed about environmental woes. Not only the sisters but also the father and his friend Harold fall victim to the poisoned land. Blinded by anhydrous ammonia, Harold and his fate "got in everywhere, into the solidest relationships, the firmest beliefs, the strongest loyalties, the most deeply held convictions you had about the people you had known most of your life."

Though she has never lived on a working farm, Smiley, 42, has roots in rural country. She once asked her grandmother what it was like on the family's Idaho ranch; the old woman replied, "I don't remember—I was too busy cooking." Smiley, who teaches at Iowa State University, is a believer in the radical agriculture movement. But she sees an inescapable link between the exploitation of land and that of women, and here she parts company with farm reformers like Wendell Berry as well as nostalgia buffs who yearn for the smaller-sealed, prechemical days.

"Women, just like nature or the land, have been seen as something to be used," says Smiley. "Feminists insist that women have intrinsic value, just as environmentalists believe that nature has its own worth, independent of its use to man." In *A Thousand Acres*, men's dominance of women takes a violent turn, and incest becomes an undercurrent in the novel. The implication is that the impulse to incest concerns not so much sex as will to power, an expression of yet another way the woman serves the man.

Having finished her most ambitious work (she has written four earlier novels and several shorter works), Smiley is about to embark on that rite of passage in publishing, the author promotional tour. Costing at least \$2,000 a city, such efforts are not cheap for a publisher and can be a gamble, especially when—as in Smiley's case—the writer's name is more literary than commercial. So you wonder: Does Alfred A. Knopf know that its new star has just bought 25 copies of a Free Press book, *Broken Heart-*

land, by radical agriculturist Osha Gray Davidson, just so she can give them away to people who are interested in the perils of pesticides? Customers will have to pay \$23 for her book; Davidson's is free.

When a novel comes even close to being a tract, its beauty and entertainment value are shrunken. The magic of *A Thousand Acres* is that it deals so effectively with both the author's scholarship and her dead-serious social concerns in an engrossing piece of fiction. We are accustomed to learning the political concerns of 19th century novelists through their books. Smiley represents a hopeful sign that feminists and environmentalists are finding imaginative ways to express their convictions. But don't look for more of the same from Smiley anytime soon. She is now teaching a course on 1980s comic fiction, and her next book will be—guess what—a satirical novel.

Whango!

NEEDFUL THINGS

By Stephen King
Viking; 690 pages; \$24.95

"Right now it's October, and in The Rock we let October stay just as long as she wants to." The man who opens Stephen King's *Needful Things* talks like that. He's kind of a stage manager, getting the props and the people in order. Kind of like the narrator in *Our Town*. "Course you know when King gets folksy it's his way of telling you before he sets off a firecracker—*Whango!*—right in your ear. This time his explosive is one of them mysterious strangers who sneaks into Castle Rock, Maine, scene of two other King features, *Cujo* and *The Dead Zone*. This stranger is called Le-laud Gaunt, and he's proprietor of the new Needful Things curiosity shop. First customer: 11-year-old Brian Rusk. The item: an autographed Sandy Koufax baseball card. The price: his soul. *Whango!*

Well, you wouldn't recognize the Rock once Gaunt sinks his teeth into it. The quiet little town where people drive Yugos and natter about Demi Moore turns into one hell of a burg. That's because the residents just can't stay away from needful things, buying stuff like folk medicine that mysteriously cures pain and cars that drive on no gas at all and just about anything else that can tempt greedy souls to trade away their most precious possession.

Fortunately, there are still people with sales resistance. Sheriff Alan Pangborn is the one to watch here. He's capable of doing anything, even blowing up the town. The author puts a promise underneath *Needful Things*. He calls this "The Last Castle Rock Story." Not to give the whole show away or anything, but King isn't a man to exaggerate. Not about his talent or his subtleties.

—By Stefan Kanfer



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Living

Forget Verdi, Try Carmen

A software program has blossomed into a multimedia success that kids love—and that makes them love to learn

What in the world is Carmen Sandiego? Answer: one of the hottest and most successful new tools in the childhood-learning market today. What began six years ago as a mystery-style computer program designed to coax youngsters into using reference books has blossomed into a public television game show, a best-selling set of computer video games, a series of adventure books and a collection of jigsaw puzzles, all popular with kids age eight and up. "It's addictive," says Jonathan Pray, 13,

books like a the *World Almanac* or an atlas—competitors may be shown an image of Socrates and have to know when he lived in order to move to the next clue. Carmen's trail may lead a player from Kigali to Istanbul, from the Golden Gate Bridge to the Cowboy Hall of Fame, or from the Leaning Tower of Pisa to Mayan ruins. Some of the questions are far from easy: players may have to know the currency of a distant country, identify a South Pacific island tribe, or describe the signifi-



Competitors on the PBS version of the find-it game; the Broderbund Software program that led to it all

an eighth-grade student in Golden, Colo., who has been prodded by Carmen into memorizing all the world's countries and their capitals.

The notion behind the Carmen boom is no more complex than that old favorite, cops and robbers. Carmen is a glamorous ex-spy turned international thief, who leads a gang of wry rogues with names such as Clare d'Loon, Luke Warmwater and Justin Case. The light-fingered mob crisscrosses the globe and skips back and forth in history in search of national treasures to smuggle. Carmen may steal away to ancient China to purloin the Great Wall, hop ahead to medieval England to snatch the Magna Charta, or today to present-day Uganda to abscond with a rare mountain gorilla.

The object is to find and capture Carmen or one of her gang and restore the stolen treasures. In the version that is airing on PBS, player-detectives decipher a series of verbal clues, then use their knowledge of geography to score points. The top scorer gets to chase Carmen around a large, unmarked map. In the computer version—which is played with the help of

cance of historical figures such as Frankish King Clovis I (A.D. 466-511) in order to nab the thief.

The Carmen phenomenon began in San Rafael, Calif., in the workshop of the Broderbund Software Co. The co-founder of Broderbund, Gary Carlston, had the original brainstorm: software writers then wove geographical and historical facts into the clues. The program eventually grew into five different Carmen titles, selling 2 million copies. In September Golden Books began publishing a line of adventure books, including *Where in Time Is Carmen Sandiego?* and *Where in Europe Is Carmen Sandiego?* This fall the half-hour *Carmen* TV series debuted nationally on PBS.

Educators around the country positively gush about the series. "I'm teaching a lot more geography and problem solving," says Jon Bennett, a fourth-grade teacher in Blusston, Ind., who uses the Carmen computer games in his class. "Kids have a reason for finding out where the Golden Gate Bridge is. They love Carmen, and they don't realize they're learning." But maybe, just maybe, they are. **By David E. Thigpen.**

Reported by Lois Gilman/New York

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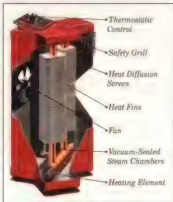
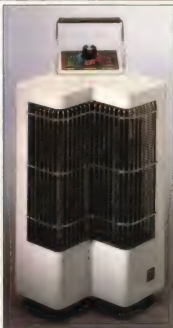
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Technology

Hot-Rod Hackers

Fine-tuning car engines takes a new twist

Hot rodding used to be a pretty straightforward hobby. Once you'd mastered manifolds and camshafts, all you had to worry about was how to get the money for your engine parts and the grease off your hands. Then in 1981, Detroit, pressed to reduce emissions and improve fuel efficiency, started putting something new in their cars: computers. Suddenly, anyone who wanted to fine-tune an engine had to have a degree in data processing.

No problem. A lively market has now developed for so-called superchips, plug-in brains that replace factory-supplied engine chips and offer a variety of improvements, from better gas mileage to higher horsepower. Today half a dozen U.S. firms, led by Memphis-based Hypertech, sell some 40,000 high-performance engine chips a year for GM cars and Fords, as well as for imports made by Nissan, BMW and Porsche. Average price: about \$130.

The superchips represent the merger of two quintessentially American pastimes: car customizing and computer hacking. When the first "engine management" chips debuted, some bright young computer types broke the coding and discovered that the tuning devices supplied by the manufacturers were designed for average drivers using low-octane fuel and left considerable room for improvement. With some minor adjustments, the processors that control engine timing and gear shifting could be reprogrammed for speed demons burning high-test to increase horsepower anywhere from 10% to 30%.

Of course, when you pop out your stock chip and replace it with a superchip, you break your warranty and you may violate the Clean Air Act, which was amended last year to require that high-performance parts meet the emissions standards of the car for which they are built. Today most superchip makers are scrambling to bring their products up to that code. Meanwhile, a California start-up called Adaptive Technologies has introduced a nifty gadget that lets you drive around in your superchipped wheels and then, when it's inspection time, switch back to the original chip with a twist of the wrist.



Photo: Bill Kopp

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Music

The Empire Strikes Black

With a hot new album, the rap group Public Enemy raises its message of social outrage to a blistering pitch

By JAY COCKS

You don't need an addressable cable box or a fancy monitor to beam in on the most exciting TV in the country. Even a screen is superfluous. All that's necessary is a tape deck or a CD player and a finely tuned ear. Let Public Enemy supply the images.

"Rap music is black America's TV station," says Chuck D, the group's lead voice, chief lyricist and moving force. It's a solid metaphor. Rap is cool music in a cool medium, carrying a blisteringly hot message of social outrage, as instantly accessible as the nightly news. It is also, frequently, as perishable: contemporary music that not only describes and comments on its time but passes with it. Rap is music for the emphatic now, rhythm without a past or future. In rap there is only the present, and the present is tense indeed.

Not even the recent welcome spate of films by black filmmakers can put the street situation right in your face with the force of rap, which is one reason why most of those films use rap on their sound tracks to muscle up the drama. Public Enemy itself was heard, memorably, in *Do the Right Thing*, but nothing in that deft and righteous movie can match the immediacy of a cut like *Nighttrain* on their new album, *Apocalypse 91: The Enemy Strikes Black*. Out only a month, *Apocalypse* has burned into the Top Ten and sold a million copies; it hit No. 4 on the *Billboard* chart, with *Can't Truss It* sitting high at No. 3 among the singles. The heat, in every sense, seems to be following the group on its current tour. Disembarking from the band bus for a recent date in Oakland, Chuck D looked at the flames in the near distance and observed, "This is it. It's Apocalypse '91."

And *Apocalypse* is different from standard-issue funky-out dance-club rap: in its thick sonic layering, which is playful, graceful and brutal by turns; in its roughhouse lyrics, which are part editorial and part rage, raw but keenly focused; and in its politics. "I think people got a connotation that hardcore rap had to have cursing or gangster sto-

ries," Chuck D, 31, reflects. "We've got neither. I wanted to show we could make a hard album without those connotations—a positive hard-core record." A first step was to cool out on the language, which had been overworked and overbaked by the Ghetto Boys and the recent N.W.A. album. Explains Chuck D: "Cursing and all that s--- is played out anyway."

In case that decision might sound like a bit of self-justifying commercialization, it



Rapping in the present tense: Chuck D and Flavor Flav in action

should be kept in mind that another lively cut on *Apocalypse* is titled *How to Kill a Radio Consultant*. Radio has not bridled. Public Enemy can get away with saying what it wants, whether it's lambasting shock-effect journalism (*A Letter to the New York Post*) or coming down hard on black drug dealers who exploit their fellow blacks ("Got tha' nerve as hell, to yell brother man") and on liquor interests whose black-oriented sales pitches are "selling us pain." *Rebirth*, with its observation that "You can't see who's in cahoots. Cause now the KKK wears three-piece suits," ought to be faved straight to David Duke's campaign headquarters.

Chuck and fellow band members Flavor Flav (the gentleman who perpetually wears

a large clock around his neck) and Terminator X have succeeded in making a narrow strip of the 'hood into a wide swath of territory that serves nicely as an image of contemporary urban America, sundared by poverty and racism. It's a place the band knows intimately, if not exactly by birth. Chuck D, born Carlton Ridenhour, was the eldest of three children of a middle-class family in Roosevelt, N.Y. He started getting deep into music while deejaying at Adelphi University, where he also drew a comic strip for the campus paper and casually considered a career like his father's, as a graphic designer. He met producer Hank Shocklee and Flavor Flav (then William Drayton) at the campus radio station, and graphics soon got subsumed into

graphic language and a grandiose beat.

Shocklee and Chuck D deejayed on the party circuit, appeared at local clubs and concocted a local video rap show. When they cut their first single, *Public Enemy No. 1*, in early 1987, their sound was already incendiary. Their first album, *Yo! Bum Rush the Show*, sold 400,000 copies later that same year without benefit of airplay. Each succeeding record displayed new fire and fresh momentum, culminating in *Fight the Power*, which soared up the singles charts in the summer of 1989 and became the signature song in *Do the Right Thing*.

That was also when Public Enemy got burned by its own flame. A nonperforming member of the band, Professor Griff, used a newspaper interview to vent some unsavory racial theories (among them: that Jews are responsible for "the majority of wickedness that goes on across the globe"), which caused enough

criticism for Chuck D to fire Professor Griff and disband the group. The Professor, Chuck D remarked later, "almost burned down the house." When the group returned two months later, its leader was careful to say, "We are not anti-Jewish. We are not anti-anyone. We are pro-black, pro-black culture and pro-human race."

That stance is clear from even a cursory listen to *Apocalypse*, a record with enough power of persuasion and electronic concussion to set the bluestest soul rapping. "If there's an overall message," Chuck D says, "it's the destruction of the evil forces within the black community. The time to face them is now." Face up and dance.

—With reporting by

David E. Thigpen/Oakland



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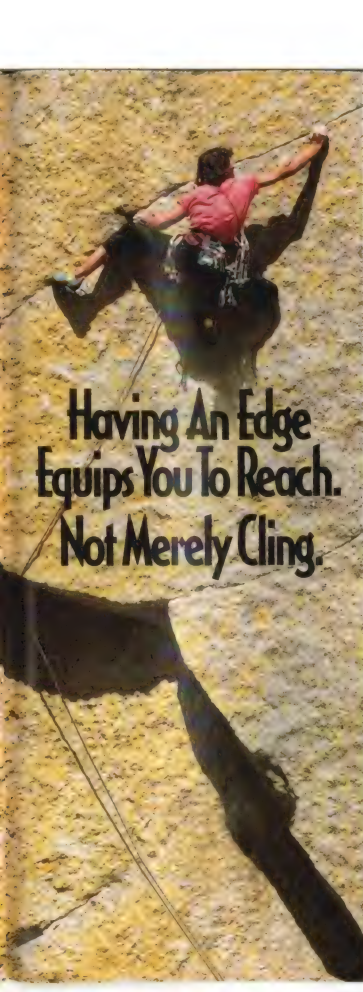
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Milestones

A Showman of the People

Joseph Papp: 1921-1991

By WILLIAM A. HENRY III

He was born into an America that still believed in the limitless potential of self-education and upward mobility, that considered high art and great ideas accessible to ordinary working people, that saw no reason for an intellectual chasm between a learned elite and the masses. He grew up in a Brooklyn household where Yiddish was the mother tongue, and this made him, he said, "acutely sensitive to the musical sounds of different languages." His father, no scholar, made trunks by hand and peddled peanuts from a pushcart. His mother was a seamstress. Young Yosl Papirofsky awakened to the arts in public schools. His first fling at the drama was playing Scrooge in a school Christmas pageant at age eight. In junior high school he discovered Shakespeare, memorizing a speech from *Julius Caesar* as a class assignment and liking it so much he mastered another for fun. He didn't go to college: his family had no money, and his country went to war. But he saw that as no barrier to a career in the arts.

When he died last week, having been the most influential figure in the American theater over the past quarter-century, Joseph Papp was recalled as an impresario, nonprofit-institution builder, starmaker and celebrity. In early years, when his theater was a church basement or a flatbed

truck and a stretch of grass in a park, he nurtured Colleen Dewhurst and James Earl Jones. When the pennies turned to millions and he controlled half a dozen stages, Hollywood actors Robert De Niro, Al Pacino and Michelle Pfeiffer would turn to Papp for a \$450-a-week chance at something serious. Playwrights David Rabe and David Henry Hwang ripened with Papp; so did Vaclav Havel, Czechoslovakia's dissi-



In Central Park, where he staged free Shakespeare productions

dent turned President. Papp productions won three Pulitzer Prizes and 28 Tony Awards—nine for *A Chorus Line*, which had a record run on Broadway from 1975 into 1990. Militantly eclectic, he premiered the free love of *Hair*, the middle-class despair of *That Championship Season*, the black invective of *No Place to Be Somebody*, the prison terror of *Short Eyes*.

He detested the economic elitism of

Broadway, where the top tickets today generally cost \$45 to \$60, and the social elitism of nonprofit regional theaters, which have tended to involve as much social climbing as art. Yet he did not shrink from transferring shows to Broadway to finance less commercial projects, and he thus created a model widely emulated by nonprofit troupes, which now generate most of Broadway's nonmusical offerings.

As an administrator, Papp used to say, only half-jokingly, that he was more afraid of a surplus than of a deficit. His usual response to a crisis was to up the ante. Critics charged that his shows often pursued a social and political agenda more than an artistic one, resulting in wildly erratic variations in quality. Usually, the worse a show was, the more vehemently Papp defended it. Arrogant and quick-tempered, apt to mistake monologue for conversation, he fired several close collaborators and infuriated many of the rest. He mismanaged his succession, naming four contenders and then appointing the one whose work was most esoteric and least in keeping with his own populist impulses. The Public Theater's budget, down a third in the past few years, faces further cuts.

Papp's vital legacy was neither his shows nor his institution but his audiences. He staged Shakespeare free in public parks, introduced impoverished ghetto students to the classics, cherished minorities and the dispossessed among writers and performers. He always saw himself as a belligerent radical. Yet his passion was a deeply conservative idea: that art, culture and tradition should form a central force in the life of every human being. ■

DIED. Floyd ("Bill") Bevins, 75, New York Yankees pitcher who came within one put-out away from pitching the first no-hit game in World Series history; of lymphoma; in Salem, Ore. In Game 4 of the 1947 series against the Brooklyn Dodgers, Cookie Lavagetto spoiled Bevins' bid with a two-run double off the outfield wall to win the game 3-2. Though the Yankees went on to win the Series, Bevins suffered a dead arm. Neither he nor Lavagetto ever appeared in a regular season game again.

DIED. Arthur Hardy, 78, psychiatrist who pioneered treatment for agoraphobia, the fear of going out-of-doors; of cancer; in Menlo Park, Calif. In the early 1960s Hardy broke with classical Freudian approaches for treating people suffering from an ab-

normal fear of being in open or public places. He renamed the disorder territorial apprehension. Hardy paid house calls in which he used relaxation techniques, assertiveness training and other behavioral methods to help cure patients of their anxieties.

DIED. Sylvia Fine Kaye, 78, songwriter and widow of the entertainer Danny Kaye, for whom she created his most famous stage and film material; of emphysema; in New York City. Kaye wrote the music and lyrics for many of her husband's films including *The Kid from Brooklyn* (1946), *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* (1947), *The Inspector General* (1949) and *The Court Jester* (1956). Among her best-known compositions was the "Tchaikovsky number" from *Lady in the Lake*, in which Danny raced rhythmically

through the names of 51 Russian composers.

DIED. Joseph Fletcher, 86, pioneer in biomedical ethics whose 1966 book, *Situation Ethics: The New Morality*, provoked spirited debate about modern theology; in Charlottesville, Va. In the 1950s, Senator Joseph McCarthy attacked the philosopher and Episcopal priest as "the red churchman" for his social activism on behalf of labor unions. In *Situation Ethics* Fletcher proposed a "new morality" based on the diminution of biblical absolutes of right and wrong. The only valid ethical test, he argued, is what God's love demands in each particular situation. While scholars criticized the concept as too vague, it struck a chord in a decade marked by rebellion against doctrinaire rules.

Theater



Arthur Miller, Old Hat at Home, Is a London Hit

A bold new work by the playwright, 76, is one of several shows that are revitalizing the West End

By WILLIAM A. HENRY III

Any new play by Arthur Miller is an important event in American culture. One as theatrically bold and intellectually subtle as *The Ride Down Mt. Morgan* is reason to shout for joy. Robustly funny, full of fantasy and hallucination yet easy to follow, it is free of the world-weary, elegiac tone of the four slight one-acts that had been Miller's sole stage output in the previous decade. At 76, the playwright has recaptured the vigorous voice and zest of middle age and has found a fresh, indeed engagingly oddball, way to revisit his accustomed theme of how to assess rugged individualism—as personal integrity or as so-

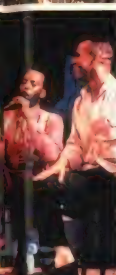
cial irresponsibility. Only one fact jars: this world premiere is delighting audiences not on Broadway but in London's West End. Says Miller: "They have a theater culture here in Britain. I don't think we do in New York City anymore. American commercial theater is dead. Why pretend that it isn't?"

It is the common fate of playwrights to flower early, then fade from fashion long before they die and spend decades enduring agonizing public reappraisal of their early triumphs. That has been Miller's lot in the U.S., where commercial producers mostly write him off as a shopworn social reformer. In Britain *Mt. Morgan* is his 13th play to be seen in the West End in the past dozen years. Moreover, British critics and

audiences accept him as the poetic expressionist he sees in himself, rather than the earnest realist that U.S. productions relentlessly turn him into. "In London," he says, "audiences and critics are not so bound to familiar forms, and I've been able to demonstrate that the works have contemporary validity. I would hope, if this play succeeds here, that people will say, 'Why does he have to go to London?' But I fear the lesson won't be drawn."

Something other than realism is unmistakable from the opening moments of *Mt. Morgan*. The title refers to an automobile skid in mid-blizzard that has left the central character, an aging insurance entrepreneur, physically shattered and confined to a hospital bed. Yet this wreckage of a man rises, leaving behind the outline of his slung and plastered body, to pace the stage and engage other characters in conversations he recalls, conversations he imagines, conversations he wants to have, and sometimes conversations he daydreams about in the midst of other conversations.

There is almost no conventional plot. The accident, which may not have been an accident, exposes a tense situation: the businessman has two wives and families.



BLOOD, BIGAMY, BEBOP, BAWDRY Highlighting what Miller calls "London's thriving theater culture, open to many forms and styles," are the savage *The Revengers' Comedies*, left; Miller's *The Ride Down Mt. Morgan*, top center; *Five Guys Named Moe*, bottom center; and *Tartuffe*

The play ends with that conflict deliberately unresolved. The chief revelations occur in flashback, and the play's hallucinatory nature makes them all a little suspect.

The businessman may lament losing contact with an illegitimate son he may have had by still another woman. Equally, he may have concocted this story just to dissuade his second wife from having an abortion. The man seemingly believes that on safari he once faced down a charging lion, which sniffed and retreated in apparent acknowledgment of a fellow animal presence. But the memory may be a mere metaphor for the kind of masculinity he is trying to keep alive. The facts ultimately matter far less than the moral dilemma: whether to mire oneself in dull decency, like the nice nurse whose family can devote a whole conversation to the merits of new shoes, or succumb to seductive selfishness.

The text abounds in unusually shapely language for Miller, and in jokes. The production is not, alas, quite as polished. Tom Conti looks too young for Miller's antihero (although the script is inconsistent about his history) and seems too ingratiating. Perhaps the idea is to suggest that king-of-the-jungle fantasy persists in the most go-

nial men; even so, Conti evokes intellectual posturing more than yearning. Gemma Jones is suitably antiseptic as his first wife, but Clare Higgins seems a bit stale for the younger second one, and Deirdre Strath just shouts as a grownup daughter.

Miller's drama would be treasure enough by the standards of Broadway, where only six straight plays are on offer at the moment—three revivals, an Irish import, two holdovers from last season and nothing new. In London, however, it is the centerpiece of a stage scene abruptly aquiver after a couple of years of doldrums. New plays by David Hare, Alan Ayckbourn, Hugh Whitmore and Timberlake Wertenbaker have been running. Still to come this month are a one-act from Harold Pinter and Alan Bennett's *The Madness of George III*.

As always, the West End is also a showcase for revivals: *Our Town* with Alan Alda and Robert Sean Leonard; *Becket*, with Derek Jacobi as the saintly bishop and Robert Lindsay as his carousing King; *Tartuffe*, with Paul Eddington as the diaphanous paterfamilias turned acolyte to a charlatan and Felicity Kendal as the saucy, commonsensical maid in a cheerily broad staging.

almost willfully devoid of undertone or relevance, by Sir Peter Hall, founder of the Royal Shakespeare Company.

The only slowdown in London comes in musicals. The handful of creators who, in various permutations, have brought forth *Cats*, *Phantom of the Opera*, *Miss Saigon* and the like have nothing new or imminent. Still, an irresistibly energetic and shamelessly folksy overgrown cabaret show, *Five Guys Named Moe*, featuring jazz of the 1930s and '40s and nonstop dancing by an all-black cast, has taken London by storm. It is headed for Broadway next April, complete with group singing of calypso bebop and a whole-audience conga line at intermission.

The most impressive new British play, Hare's *Murmuring Judges*, starts as a panoramic survey of a criminal-justice system shamefully subverted by careerism and bureaucracy. Gradually the story focuses on a hapless petty burglar, imprisoned almost five years for a first offense. Hare, a left-winger, has a thumb on the scales: his inmate is penitent, as innocent of spirit as *Candide*. Moreover, the police are widely known to have tainted the evidence, but admitting that would inconvenience powerful people, so injustice prevails. Much of the dialogue is barely digested statistics; the silliest, mouthed by a reformist young black woman, argues that essentially every male under 30 is a criminal, so no one should be prosecuted. Despite such balderdash, the storytelling is intense and the acting splendid, especially by Robert Patterson as the prisoner.

Ayckbourn's new play is actually two: *The Revengers' Comedies* trace, over two full shows, the misbegotten relationship between a middle-class urban man and a wealthy country maiden who meet while both are attempting suicide. They then agree, he halfheartedly and she ferociously, to avenge the sadness in each other's lives. He is an amiable also-ran. She, it becomes clear, is a psychopath. Ayckbourn, who also directed, fought off all efforts to get him to consolidate the two segments into one long night. He was wrong. There is simply not enough of a payoff. But the work is often wickedly funny. It is well acted (especially, in a splendid cameo, by Adam Godley as the psychopath's languid, childlike aristocrat of a brother). And its portrayal of what it is like to be the target of someone truly crazy and obsessed lingers hauntingly, making the play more interesting to remember than to watch.

When the 1991 London theater is recalled in longer memory, however, from a perspective approaching history, neither the Hare nor the Ayckbourn nor even the West End's renewed vitality will rate more than a passing mention. The epochal event will be *The Ride Down Mt. Morgan*—and Arthur Miller's stubborn climb back up to the pinnacle of his talent.



Essay

Richard Brookhiser

Why Not Bring Back the Czars?

When they are not worrying about whether they will eat this winter, the people of the former Soviet Union must be wondering how they will be ruled. Postcommunist government is bound to be democratic. But democracy takes many forms, from the checks and balances of House, Senate and President in Washington to the checkmates of the Knesset in Israel. Russians and other ex-Soviets should consider a democratic variation on a theme from their own past: a constitutional monarchy headed by a restored czar.

From 1613 to 1917, the Russian empire was ruled, sometimes disastrously, sometimes rather well, by the Romanov family. From 1917 until 1991 it was ruled, always disastrously, by the Communist Party. Bringing back the Romanovs now would certainly be poetic justice. As the historian Richard Pipes wrote, the 1918 massacre by communists of the last Czar, Nicholas II, and his family was "uniquely odious . . . a prelude to 20th century mass murder." Now that communism has been outlawed, who better to help replace it than the relatives of its first victims?

Since the French Revolution, crowns (and crowned heads) have rolled across the Western world. Yet monarchies that adapted to democracy still survive in most of the countries of northwestern Europe—Britain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden—plus Spain. They have lasted up to the eve of the 21st century because their subjects find them useful, even in a democratic age.

A democracy with a king as head of state draws on a source of legitimacy beyond parliamentary politics and popular will. The extra institutional support comes in handy in moments of crisis. With complicated and turbulent histories, during World War II Norway's King Haakon and the Netherlands' Queen Wilhelmina gave their occupied countries an additional symbol of resistance. In Spain the modern monarchy's services to

the constitution have been more than symbolic. In 1981, when gun-toting, right-wing officers seized parliament and held it hostage, King Juan Carlos went on Spanish television in full uniform and used his royal prestige to rally the army around the constitution. Boris Yeltsin isn't the only living leader to have quashed a coup.

Monarchs minister to the psyche as well as the polity; they give a focus for a country's collective libido. Americans don't need kings to stir our souls because we have attached our deepest feelings to the myths and documents of our founding: Paul Revere's ride and George Washington at Valley Forge; the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Democracies that lack such myths can be emotionally naked. A constitutional monarch supplies the mythic dimension in a convenient package. Winston Churchill, who was both a partisan pol and an ardent monarchist, believed that if defeated Germany had had a constitutional monarch after World War I, the Weimar Republic might have withstood the seductions of Nazism.

Both these factors are relevant to the former Soviet Union. The peoples that made it up are heading for sweeping political changes, which will coincide with hard economic times. A constitutional czar would provide an element of continuity, while the politicians do the dirty work and make the hard choices. He would also offer emotional security when things get grim, as they inevitably will.

Restoring the Romanovs could help the dissolving Russian empire deal with its own special problem: nationalism. European kings and queens traditionally exacted loyalty to themselves as representatives of a royal family, not embodiments of an ethnic or cultural type. Czarism was rough on some minorities, notably Jews and Muslims. But it was surprisingly tolerant of most of the non-Russians who made up its quilt of an empire. Czarist indulgence extended even to the Mennonites, German-speaking Protestant pacifists, the boat people of 18th century Europe, whom hardly any other country would tolerate. As long as the Mennonites in Russia came to themselves, the Romanovs didn't care how they spoke or prayed.

The next Romanov, should he get the job, must understand that he has been commissioned to reign, not rule. His usefulness to his country, and to the future of his family, depends on his being above politics—a symbol, not an autocrat. The first post-Soviet parliament could audition all living Romanovs (of whom Grand Duke Vladimir, now living in France, is the most prominent) and pick the one who seems most amenable to these goals—just as the English Parliament, in 1688, replaced a king it didn't trust (James II) with his daughter Mary and her Dutch husband William of Orange.

Establishing a post-Soviet monarchy in such a utilitarian spirit may seem to undermine the emotional aura that would be the new czar's chief benefit. But that aura can coexist with practical considerations. Shakespeare's tragedy of kingship, *Richard II*, contrasts Richard, an immoral and inept king, yet one who believes he was divinely appointed, with his deposer and successor, Henry Bolingbroke, who, for all his cunning and competence, is haunted by the knowledge that he is a usurper. Shakespeare presents the shift from Richard to Henry as a changing of the guard, a clean break from one style of kingship to another. And yet the "divinity [that] doth hedge a king" (a Shakespeare phrase from another play) still clings to the British monarchy 600 years and innumerable tabloid gawdfests after the events Shakespeare described.

For 74 years the Soviet Union was a society in which the sense of the sacred was either extirpated or grotesquely transferred to communist relics like Lenin statues and Lenin's corpse. The post-Soviet state, embarking on democracy, could use an infusion of an older and more honorable form of the sacred about now.

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Now, after a decade of trying to make Superfund work, it's clear these assumptions were wrong and that a quick fix was never possible. What's wrong with Superfund and why has so little been accomplished?

The problem is twofold. First, the real scope of our nation's hazardous waste situation is far greater than Congress anticipated. With 1,200 priority sites already identified, growing numbers of sites are being found in every state. The Environmental Protection Agency expects that by the year 2000, there may be as many as 2,000 priority sites.

With rapidly rising cleanup costs, which now average about \$25 million per site, the eventual price tag is staggering. According to a top government agency, cleaning up all of America's hazardous waste sites could take from 30 to 60 years and cost up to \$500 billion!

A second problem is Superfund's alarming lack of progress in cleanup. A decade and billions of dollars later, fewer than 60 out of the 1,200 sites have actually been cleaned up.

Why? One major reason is Superfund's liability system. It requires that cleanup be paid for by establishing liability—who sent what waste, how much and where—and then negotiating or litigating with those believed to be responsible. While this sounds good in theory, it hasn't worked in practice. Instead, the result has been



delayed cleanup and enormous legal, consulting and other costs unrelated to cleanup.

COMPOUNDING THE PROBLEMS INSTEAD OF SOLVING THEM.

This is because working out who pays and how much for cleanup is very difficult. Under Superfund, anyone who simply used or owned the site at any time could be liable for the entire cleanup bill. Users can include major corporations, small businesses, local governments, hospitals, nursing homes, schools, even individuals. And it does not matter who caused the harm or whether they did anything wrong. Superfund's retroactive

New system to achieve cleanup of our environment.

liability provision makes parties pay for past actions based on today's standards.

For example, at 422 sites almost 14,000 parties have been notified that they could be liable. In turn, many of them are identifying still others who contributed in some way to the presence of waste at each site. And since Superfund liability deals with past waste disposal, the record of users can go back 25, 30 or even 40 years and can number in the hundreds.

The result? The focus on cleanup has been lost as private and public parties spend years in difficult but unavoidable negotiations and litigation, trying to work out agreements that would provide funds for cleanup. At some sites, more money has been spent resolving complex factual issues than on cleanup itself. This does a lot for lawyers and consultants, but very little for the environment. And of course, these costs are eventually passed on to all of us as consumers in higher prices for goods and services. Isn't it time to stop this wasteful process and get on with cleaning up our environment?

At AIG, we think so. There is little to be gained by arguing over waste disposal that happened long ago. America needs a system that will promote fast and effective cleanup, reduce unnecessary legal fees, spread the cost of cleanup broadly, and encourage responsible waste management practices today.

A PROPOSED SOLUTION: THE NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL TRUST FUND.

To accomplish this, we have proposed creating a National Environmental Trust Fund, similar to the National Highway Trust Fund. Its resources would be used exclusively for cleaning up old hazardous waste sites. Superfund's tough

liability provisions would still apply for future pollution, as would all other state and federal environmental laws designed to promote responsible waste management.

One way this fund could be financed would be by adding a separate fee to commercial and industrial insurance premiums in the United States. Even a modest assessment, say 2% of premiums and an equivalent amount for self-insureds, would provide about \$40 billion over the next decade - more than enough to clean up the 1,200 highest-priority sites. Without endless time and money spent on legal debates about liability.

A national advisory board consisting of private individuals, industry and public officials could be charged with overseeing the program. We also suggest giving consideration to establishing local technical monitoring committees in each community. These groups of local citizens, representatives of industry and others would work with the Environmental Protection Agency and their own state on the particular cleanup site - from the very beginning of the cleanup effort.

YOU CAN HELP

We've waited long enough and spent enough money in the courtrooms. Now it's time for action. A cleaner America should be all Americans' shared goal and shared responsibility.

To express your views, or if you would like further information about AIG's proposed National Environmental Trust Fund, write to Mr. M.R. Greenberg, Chairman, American International Group, Inc., 70 Pine Street, New York, NY 10270.

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pressure for a woman to succeed
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